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A LIST OF THE ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

12 **HORACE'S "CLEOPATRA ODE"**
Priscilla E. Lee

16 **LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS & PORTRAITURE OF THE 'MYSTERIOUS' ETRUSCANS: ANOTHER STORY OF ETRUSCAN ERASURE**
Rina Rossi

36 **MIND YOUR LANGUAGE, MISTER! A CASE STUDY IN ARISTOPHANIC HUMOR**
M.I. Rehan

52 **THE GOLDEN BOUGH**
Morell Old

58 **DEAD MEN HAVE NO SOULS: THE PROBLEM OF THE PRINCIPLE OF HOMONYMY IN ARISTOTLE**
Rebekah Locke

76 **REFRAMING ROME: IMPERIAL NARRATIVE AND THE TEMPLE OF AUGUSTAN CONCORD**
Mamie Murphy

96 **EPITAPH FOR BASSA**
Kate Whitaker

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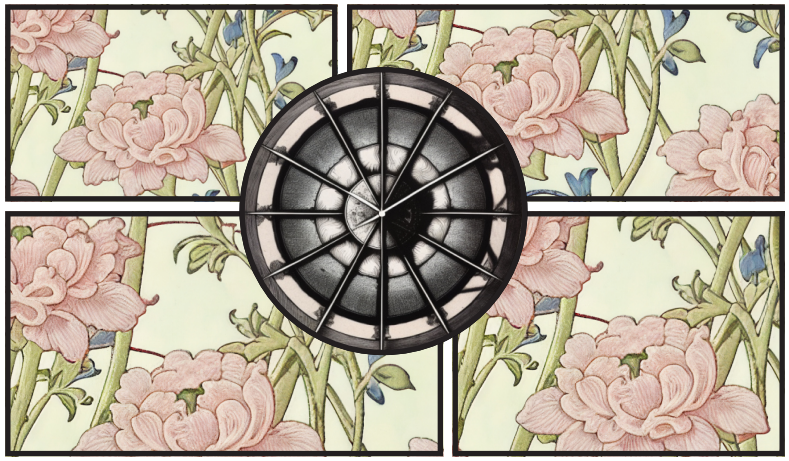
LETTER FROM THE EDITORS



Everyday life returns

Life at the University of Chicago has settled back into its usual hectic rhythm after nearly two and a half years of COVID restrictions. As we discussed in our Spring 2022 Letter, the advent of a fully-in-person Animus was a relief and a joy; eight months later, it continues to be both of those things. Our weekly Board meetings, chats about pieces in Harper Café, and strolls around the Main Quad, ruminating on piece decisions and citation styles, have been a pleasure and a privilege.

Gratitude for our Staff

Now in our third year, Animus has seen the growth of our staff to involve University of Chicago students from many disciplines, whose wide-ranging perspectives have contributed to the success of our journal. First and foremost, our Reviewers and Copy-Editors have continued to be the strong backbone of Animus, without which our journal would not be possible, and we thank them endlessly for their many hours of hard work and dedication. Reviewers and Copy-Editors were foundational to Animus since its creation in Winter 2020; we have continued to train the next generation of Reviewers and Copy-Editors, and we look forward to what they will bring to future issues

of Animus. Assistant Section Editors, who joined our staff during our second volume's cycle, have continued to be an important step of our review process, allowing us to provide more in-depth feedback for all of our submitting authors while also using their diverse backgrounds for the benefit of our decision-making process.

Gratitude for our former Staff

We are also grateful for the ongoing support of previously involved Animus staff members, who have acted as advisors even from great geographical distances. We especially want to thank our outgoing Blog Editor Lucy Nye for her foundational efforts on the Animus blog. Thanks to her hard work, our blog has published work from undergraduates across the world on a wide variety of relevant issues, addressing questions of identity and representation in the Classics.

On our design

We would also like to thank Jacob Keisling for his tireless work on the design of this issue. This issue combines elements of Kelmscott Press book design, medieval and Venetial influences, and contemporary AI-generated illustration in a modern interpretation of traditional book design. Our worries about the formatting of citations are allayed, at least somewhat, by the knowledge that readers will instead focus on the beauty of the layout and illustrations.

Final thanks

As always, we would like to thank the Classics Department at the University of Chicago for their support, especially Kathy Fox and Professors Jonah Radding and David Wray for their assistance. We would also like to thank the University of Chicago's Student Government and the Classics Society for their financial support as we seek to bring this issue to our readers.

Warmly, as always,

Natalie Nitsch and Sarah Ware

HORACE'S "CLEOPATRA ODE" BOOK 1, POEM 37
PRISCILLA E. LEE, TRANSLATOR
AMHERST COLLEGE

NOTE FROM THE TRANSLATOR

I first wrote this translation in Professor Kirun Kapur's "Poetry in Translation" course. I was struck by the rhythm of the opening phrase, *Nunc est bibendum*, and was guided by it to create a lively, driving beat. I placed the words so that your eyes would move across the page in rhythm (or, at least, that's my hope). I especially like the slight lilt of going from the end of one line to the beginning of the next, and I played with enjambment and spacing to diminish, emphasize, or reposition these lilts. In this translation, however, rhythm and other effects were secondary to the story, which I tried to make as clear as possible, even to readers who don't have the historical context. In the ending, especially, I translated more freely so that the scene wouldn't get lost. It was important to me to keep "triumpho" as the final word of the poem, so that after reading about Caesar's great victory and Cleopatra's quiet dignity, you wonder whose triumph it really was. On the whole, I enjoy sticking to Latin word order and choosing cognates (even false cognates) whenever I think I can get away with it.

Priscilla E. Lee

CITATION

Hor. Od. 1.37
Horace. *Horace, Odes and Epodes*. Edited by Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing. Chicago. Benj. H. Sanborn & Co. 1919.

Now, we drink! Stamp your feet
to the beat of Freedom's earth.
Now is the time! Fill the altar with feasts
fit for the gods,
                my comrades!

Before, poor taste it was to pour the cellar-aged
Caecuban. For our Capitol
manic-madding Queen with rabid hoard
    (disturbed and sickening men)
had ruinous Death in store—
                for Empire too!
Must be unreined, no, drunk!
on most delirious luck! to
think she could do it.

But then—her fury ebbed as all but one
of her ships were dipped in flames,
jolted from the mirage of Egypt's wines to
sobering sight of Caesar
    vaulting across the Italian skies like
    hunting hawk to cooing dove, or
    cutthroat blade to woodland hare
    (nestled in snowy blankets)
        (now bound in shackles of death)

Unzipped herself:
now Mother of death in dignity. No
    fear of the sword, no
    flight to scalloped shores,

Resolved, she looked instead on
sinking fortress, face serene—
in Strength, she clasped the serpent, closed
her lips around black mouth of poison, drank
with fearsome thirst to purge a most revolting fate:
    An exposed show-girl for savage
    Liburnians?
        No, never.
This noble Woman would not be led in triumph.

nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero i
pulsanda tellus; nunc Saliaribus
ornare pulvinar deorum
tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

antehac nefas depromere Caecubum
cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
regina dementis ruinas
funus et imperio parabat

contaminato cum grege turpium ix
morbo virorum quidlibet inpotens
sperare fortunaque dulci
ebria. sed minuit furorem

vix una sospes navis ab ignibus
mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
redegit in veros timores
Caesar ab Italia volantem

remis adurgens, accipiter velut xvii
mollis columbas aut leporem citus
venator in campis nivalis
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis

fatale monstrum. quae generosius
perire quaerens nec muliebriter
expavit ensem nec latentis
classe cita reparavit oras.

ausa et iacentem visere regiam xxv
voltu sereno, fortis et asperas
tractare serpentes, ut atrum
corpore conbiberet venenum,

deliberata morte ferocior;
saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens
privata deduci superbo,
non humilis mulier, triumpho.

LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS & PORTRAITURE OF THE 'MYSTERIOUS' ETRUSCANS ❧ ANOTHER STORY OF ETRUSCAN ERASURE

❧ Rina Rossi, Univ. Of California, Berkeley

Despite the lack of surviving written records, the ancient Etruscans' historical legacy can be marked by their substantial collection of sarcophagi and wall paintings, from the reclining banqueters depicted on the Tomb of the Diver painting, to the painted multicolored birds flying above the water in the *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* fresco.[1] The Etruscans were known to have created and embraced intricately decorated sarcophagi, landscape paintings that beautifully captured the balance between nature and man, organized elaborate banquets, and led a society that allowed women for more sexual freedom[2]. Despite being the founders of these numerous innovations, the Etruscans' achievements are often credited to Greece and Rome, and they are continuously accused by Greco-Roman scholars of copying other civilizations' ideas. Namely, the Etruscans still have yet to be credited in modern western Mediterranean scholarship as the founders of landscape painting in ancient Italy, as landscape paintings have long been attributed to the Romans. Additionally, the Etruscans' extensive portraiture and distinctive focus on emphasizing specific physical attributes in human portraiture are overshadowed by scholars' attribution of portraiture as a distinctly Greco-Roman invention. Neglecting to recognize the Etruscans as the first producers of landscape paintings in ancient Italy contributes to the continued erasure of Etruscans by Greco-Roman scholars. Similarly, attributing portraiture as being distinctly part of Greco-Roman culture largely erases the Etruscans' revolutionary achievements in portraiture.

1. Smith, *The Etruscans: A Very Short Introduction*, 1.

2. Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, 55.

The Etruscans were an ancient group of people from ancient Italy who lived around 900–400 B.C.E. Reigning as the "most innovative, powerful, wealthy, and creative people" in ancient Italy, they inhabited the plains and hills of central Italy and lived in elaborate cities.[3] The Etruscan empire stretched from the Po Valley in the North to Campania in the South (see Figure 1)[4], and

3. Smith, 1.

4. Smith, 1.

they traded across the Mediterranean, spreading their love of sport, wine, religion, music, technology, and art[5]. Yet, the Etruscans' creative influence has been largely overshadowed by the skepticism many Greek scholars have toward the authenticity of Etruscan artistic achievements. One such skeptic of the Etruscans' contributions to ancient art history is classical archaeologist John Boardman, who argued in his book *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade* that Etruscan art simply emerged out of their trade with the Greeks. Additionally, Boardman compares Etruscan art with Greek art and asserts that the Etruscans lacked the creativity and originality that the Greeks illustrated in their work. Claiming that the Greeks underwent an extensive process to uniquely develop their own culture, Boardman presents this claim in contrast to the Etruscans, who he argues often copied or paid the Greeks to produce some of their artwork, stating that

5. Smith, 2.

> The Etruscans accepted all they were offered, without discrimination. They copied—or paid Greeks and perhaps immigrant easterners to copy—with little understanding of the forms and subjects which served as models (200).

Boardman's skepticism regarding the Etruscans' artistic innovations is flawed because he fails to accurately describe the artistic relationship that the Etruscans and Greeks had, one of sharing their own artistic techniques through trade, not of mimicry or plagiarism. In particular, the Archaic and Classical Etruscans worked with Greek artists who created paintings that were specifically catered to an Etruscan market. Thus, the Etruscans incorporated elements from Greek mythology and combined aspects of Greek and Etruscan culture to create funerary and historical scenes within their paintings.[6] Similarly, the Etruscans also influenced the Greeks with their art, particularly in their tomb and landscape paintings, often displaying more creativity in their art pieces in comparison to the Greeks. This is most notably shown in the differences between the level of creativity, precision, and artistic detail of the Etruscan *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* painting and a similar Greek painting called *Tomb of the Diver at Paestum*.[7]

6. Naso, *Etruscology*, 947.

7. Hurwit, "The Representation of Nature in Early Greek Art", 39.

Interestingly, the Etruscans were creating landscape paintings before similar paintings were made in Hellenistic Greece, as well as before they were seen in Roman homes and villas. While it is true that landscape paintings were found in Minoan wall paintings, Greek wall paintings did not appear in Vergina until the 4th century B.C.E., and scholars have yet to uncover evidence of wall paintings in both Archaic and Classical Greece.[8] Despite this, landscape paintings are still not properly attributed to the Etruscans.[9] This likely stems from the fact that Roman naturalist and philosopher Pliny the Elder incorrectly attributed the founder of landscape paintings to Studius, who was an Augustan painter. In his *Natural History*, Pliny states that,

> Studius too, of the period of the Divine Augustus, must not be cheated of his due. He first introduced the most attractive fashion of painting walls with villas, porticoes (harbours?), and landscape gardens, groves, woods, hills, fish-pools, canals, rivers, coasts-whatever one could wish, and in them various representations of people strolling about, people sailing, people travelling overland to villas on donkey-back or in carriages, and in addition people fishing, fowling, hunting, or even gathering the vintage (35.116–117).

Pliny's attribution of landscape paintings to Studius is both historically and archaeologically disputed as it is unclear if Studius even existed in ancient Roman history due to the rarity of his name in Latin inscription. Also, Studius was documented to have contributed greatly to a particular genre of landscape painting, rather than managing to bring the whole concept of landscape painting to Rome.[10] Ultimately, Pliny's accreditation of landscape paintings to the Romans erased one of the Etruscans' most important contributions to art in ancient Italy, which set an unfortunate and inaccurate theme of reinforcing a Roman-centric lens when analyzing all ancient western Mediterranean art for many scholars that succeeded Pliny, such as Boardman.

The Etruscans were not only the first people in ancient Italy to produce landscape paintings, but they also were the first to introduce specific symbolic scenes, like a harbor, in their art.

8. Immerwahr, *Aegean painting in the Bronze Age*.

9. Pieraccini, "Etruscan Wall Painting: Insights, Innovations, and Legacy," 251.

10. Ling, "Studius and the Beginnings of Roman Landscape Painting," pp. 2–3.

Additionally, their landscape paintings were mainly painted on the walls of their elaborate tombs. The Etruscans' earliest surviving tomb wall paintings are from the first half of the 7th century B.C.E., the first of such in the western Mediterranean.[11] The Etruscans also created the illustrious *Tomb of the Ship* (see Figure 2), a landscape painting from the mid-5th century B.C.E. that is the earliest wall painting in ancient Italy that features a harbor scene.[12] The painting depicts not only the harbor but also the actions of the individuals in the whole scene. The *Tomb of the Ship* features banqueters on the back wall and a cargo ship, smaller ships, cliffs, and rocks in the seascape on the left wall. A man, who is likely deceased, is also portrayed looking at the seascape with his arm in the air, which may mean that the cargo ship symbolized the deceased's expedition to the afterlife.[13] Interestingly, the seascape scene depicted in the *Tomb of the Ship* is similar to various Roman paintings found in Vesuvian towns that also portray harbor scenes.[14] Nonetheless, it is largely missing from scholarship in classical studies that the *Tomb of the Ship* was the first depiction of a harbor scene in a wall painting, and this lack of acknowledgment erases the Etruscans' significant contributions to art history. In the case of the *Tomb of the Ship*, failure to credit the Etruscans thereby reinforces a Roman-centric perspective of ancient Mediterranean art history as there is little discussion in academia about ancient Italy surrounding the possibility of the Etruscan influence on Vesuvian paintings of harbor scenes. Furthermore, in contrast to Boardman's allegation that the Etruscans lacked originality and often copied from other cultures, the harbor scenes found in Roman paintings suggest the mere opposite and point to the possibility that the Etruscans produced original scenes in the *Tomb of the Ship* that were replicated by other cultures.

The Etruscans also experimented with wall paintings heavily in the southern Etruscan cities of Caere and Veii, where they practiced unique forms of clay coating and painting. In particular, artisans in Caere often painted directly on tufa walls, often around doors or on ceilings.[15] In contrast, Etruscan artisans in Veii often placed clay coatings on tufa walls until they ultimately decided to plaster the walls prior to painting them. Perhaps these unique art techniques that differed between the

11. Naso, *The Origins of Tomb Painting in Etruria*, 67.

12. Petrarulo, "New Considerations Regarding the Seascape Fresco in the Tomb of the Ship (Tomba della Nave) at Tarquinia," 15.

13. Colonna, "Osservazioni sulla Tomba Tarquiniese della Nave," 74.

14. Ling, *Roman painting*, 148.

15. MacIntosh, et. al, 331.

two Etruscan cities signaled that elements in Etruscan art emphasized unique aspects of the respective cities' cultures and local traditions. If this is true, this refutes the notion espoused by many Greco-Roman scholars that the Etruscans were not creative in their artworks.[16] Naso also argues that the plastering technique used by the artisans in Veii was indigenous to the Etruscans (82). Despite this, wall paintings are often associated with the Greeks, as well as the Romans, who scholars believe adapted wall paintings from the ancient Greeks. For example, the *Tomba delle Anatre*, a Veiian artwork made around 680-660 B.C.E., has been credited to the ancient Greeks, in particular, a Euboean painter.[17] This tomb painting depicts a frieze with five red birds moving toward a funerary bird located on the left side of the tomb (See Figure 3). However, their long beaks suggest that these birds are water birds, which were portrayed frequently in Etruscan tomb paintings and may have played an important role in Etruscan religion.[18] Thus, the landscape painting's clear incorporation of animals important to Etruscan religion cannot be attributed to the Euboeans.[19] Furthermore, it is unlikely that wall paintings were first made by the Greeks, as Etruscan wall paintings predate Greek ones.[20] Most importantly, there is little existing evidence of tomb paintings from Archaic and Classical Greece, whereas the Etruscans have "the largest repertoire" of tomb paintings from this time period, as made clear by their illustrious works like the *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing*, *Tomb of the Diver*, and the *Tomb of the Ship*.[21] As a result, suggesting that the *Tomba delle Anatre* originated in Greece is both historically and culturally unlikely.

16. Naso, 81.

17. Giuliano, "Protoattici in Occidente," 70.

18. Naso, pp. 69–71.

19. Naso, 64.

20. Hurwit, "Early Greek Wall and Panel Painting, 760–480 B.C." 66.

21. Pieraccini, 248.

In addition to the lack of credit given to the Etruscans for creating a new genre of art, the Etruscans still have not been recognized for the level of creativity and artistic prowess their artisans displayed in their landscape paintings, a level of artistic mastery not evident in similar renditions made by the ancient Greeks or Romans. In particular, the Etruscans' artistic prowess was marked by their ability to depict a beautiful balance between man and nature. Shown exquisitely in the Etruscan *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* landscape painting, a Tarquinian fresco likely created in 530 B.C.E., the Etruscan artisans provided viewers with an almost photographic look into the

daily lives of the Etruscans on the Tyrrhenian shore (See Figure 4). The *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* depicts red, blue, and orange birds soaring through the panel and men diving below the water to catch fish. Meanwhile, dolphins jump in and out of the water at the bottom of the panel. At the same time, Etruscan banqueters recline at the top of the panel, and a diver from a small island on the left wall watches the scene, overall depicting a "circle of events…in a Kodak-like picture of life."[22] The multitude of events painted in the *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* exhibits the Etruscans' ability to not only focus on merely illustrating a landscape but on displaying "movement and harmony between man and nature."[23] In the painting, the Etruscan artisan managed to convey numerous aspects of daily life that were important to them, such as holding banquets and reclining. In addition, the artisan includes events in the painting that were crucial to the survival of a civilization, such as the fishermen hunting fish, likely for their families to eat. Altogether, the painting provides a detailed insight into what an ordinary day might have looked like for the Etruscans.

22. Pieraccini, 251.

23. Pieraccini, 251.

The level of detail the Etruscans depicted in the *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* has not been found in similar Greek paintings. While the Archaic Greeks depicted some elements of man and nature in their vase paintings, it is unlikely that the Etruscans were inspired by the Greeks and replicated similar elements in their landscape art. This is because the Archaic Greek painters only included dirt, trees and some individuals bathing, and these elements were portrayed in the Greek landscape paintings as small parts of the overall picture. In contrast, Jeffrey Hurwit asserts that the Etruscans paid proper homage to the natural world by placing humans in proportion to how small they are in comparison to nature.[24] R. Ross Holloway similarly acknowledges that animals like dolphins and birds, as well as figures like divers, can be found in Greek vase art, but he argues that they were not depicted with the same level of detail as the Etruscans, noting that

24. Hurwit, *The Representation of Nature in Early Greek Art*, 36.

> [T]heir existence in the tradition of Greek drawing in which the painters of the Tarquinii tombs were schooled does not mean that any Greek painting existed as a prototype of these scenes. Archaic Greek art never produced anything like the

effect of this open sky filled with passing birds, the expanse of water, the low horizon, and the isolated small human figures (342).

The explicit differences between the Etruscans' and Greeks' ability to emphasize the relationship between man and nature are most clearly seen when comparing the Etruscan *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* to the Greek *Tomb of the Diver at Paestum*. Specifically, a diver similar to the one depicted in the *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* is portrayed in the *Tomb of the Diver*, made around 500-480 B.C.E., which features a silhouette of a figure diving into a small gray pile of water (see figure 5). The painting also features two thin gray trees and four palmettes situated around the diver. Unlike the *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing*, which portrays a wide array of multicolored animals and individuals playing different roles in the landscape painting, the *Tomb of the Diver* fails to capture the "joyous" relationship between man and nature and does not reveal anything about Greek daily life and culture.[25] Additionally, the focus of the panel is not on the relationship between man and nature, but rather on the diver. In the Greek panel, nature is not depicted in a detailed and multicolored fashion, as the trees and their leaves are gray and "spindly" like broomsticks.[26] The lack of detail depicted in the trees contrasts with the illustrious palmettes on the corners of the panel, leading scholars like Jeffrey Hurwit to question if nature was "intentionally subverted" in the *Tomb of the Diver*, since the naturalistic elements of the panel are seemingly given little attention to detail (39). Similarly, the trees and palmettes all point to the diver, purportedly implying that nature is an additional embellishment to the diver. The Greek lid in the *Tomb of the Diver* also fails to accurately illustrate the proportions in which the diver, cliff, water, and trees would have appeared in real life. In the panel, the diver jumps off of a cliff that is bigger than the small pile of water below. In fact, the body of water is so low that it appears to look more like a puddle, which would have most likely resulted in the diver breaking his neck (Hurwitt, 39). Thus, the *Tomb of the Diver* lacks both creativity and attention to artistic detail because of the disproportionality between man and nature.

25. Hurwit, 36.

26. Dawson, *Romano-Campanian mythological landscape painting*, 12.

While the *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* clearly displays a greater level of artistic aptitude than the *Tomb of the Diver*, the *Tomb of the Diver* is still praised for its alleged artistic prowess. Specifically, the *Tomb of the Diver*, which also depicts recliners on the lateral slab (see Figure 6), has been described as "an exceptional painted tomb" that portrays "a Greek banquet".[27] It is important to note that the banqueting individuals in the *Tomb of the Diver* are reclining just like the Etruscans in the *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing* as well as the *Tomb of the Ship*, both of which are older than the Greek *Tomb of the Diver*. Again, the complete disregard for the Etruscans' creation of landscape painting in ancient Italy is a clear example of the Etruscans' innovations being erased by Greco-Roman intellectuals. Scholars like Boardman allege that the Etruscans lacked creativity and often copied the achievements of the Greeks and Romans, but this clearly cannot be proven true if the Etruscans were the first to introduce a genre of art to ancient Italy. Rather than the Etruscans copying and taking other civilizations' art forms "without discrimination", it appears that the Greeks took and copied the Etruscans' landscape paintings and credited themselves for inventing them.[28] Likewise, scholars who analyze art history through a Greek lens fail to acknowledge the clear influence that the Etruscans played in the Greek *Tomb of the Diver,* as well as neglect to compare the *Tomb of the Diver* and *Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing*'s artistic achievements, thereby erasing the Etruscans' important and unique impact on future Greek works.

In addition to the Etruscans' revolutionary achievements in landscape paintings falling victim to erasure by Greco-Roman scholars, the Etruscans also have yet to be widely acknowledged for their contributions to ancient portraiture. While portraiture is accepted as a Greco-Roman invention, the Etruscans worked with a variety of artistic mediums to create art that was highly personalized in a way that had not been done before in the Classical world. For instance, Etruscan artists highlighted physical differences in their portrait subjects such as age, physical appearance, health, and "social persona".[29] This artistic technique was unique to the Etruscans, who often focused on emphasizing physical differences of humans' chests and heads, rather than following in the footsteps of their

27. Alberghina, "The Tomb of the Diver and the frescoed tombs in Paestum (southern Italy): New insights from a comparative archaeometric study," 2.

28. Boardman, 199.

29. Carpino, "Portraiture," in *The Etruscan World*, 1007.

ancient Greek contemporaries, who focused on portraying the whole human body.[30] Highlighting physical differences distinguishes the Etruscans as the first people to make "the transition from generic to specific representations" in their portraiture, aiming to produce these representations because they were "essential" in accurately portraying humans.[31] Brendel also argued that Etruscan sculptors created the first portraits found in western art (87). Despite the Etruscans' numerous original achievements in the foundation of sculpture and representation, they still have yet to receive wide recognition in the study of portraiture, which is often viewed as a Greco-Roman field of art. The transition to specific representations of physical characteristics and age in portraiture is significant and is a technique in portraiture art that is still used today. Despite this, the Etruscans continue to be erased in the history of portraiture since their achievements, while important in influencing their successors' artwork, are still not widely credited.

30. Carpino, 1007.

31. Brendel, *Etruscan art*, 103.

The Etruscans also contributed widely to ancient funerary portraiture. This is because the earliest portraiture tradition lay in their ability to create unique funerary portraiture in the 7th century B.C.E, mainly at Chiusi. During this period, Etruscan artists sculpted portraits on bronze and terracotta cinerary urns, whose lids took the form of a human head (see Figure 7). Due to the Etruscan tradition of making specific representations in their portraiture, these funerary vessels were stylized to convey the personalities, characteristics, and physical traits of the dead.[32] In other Etruscan cities, artisans used stone, bronze, and terracotta to create statues that they placed inside tombs for the dead. Namely, the women and men depicted inside the Pietrera Tomb were intricately decorated with necklaces and hairstyles, suggesting that the artist wished to convey that those deceased individuals were part of the aristocracy.[33] Similarly, the Etruscans created statues of women (See Figures 8 and 11), men (See Figure 7), and couples (See Figure 10) which were found on cinerary urns and sarcophagi during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. These statues, according to Brendel, "support the claim that a genuine concept of portraiture, equal to the modern, materialized in Etruscan art for the first time in history" and confirm the long

32. Carpino, 1008.

33. Brendel, 3.

history and tradition of Etruscan memorial portraiture (392-3). Furthermore, the Etruscans also created portraiture to honor their gods and goddesses and may have made revolutionary strides in the depiction of the divine in art history. For example, there exists a bronze bust of a female figure in the "Isis" Tomb at Vulci, which is a "possible portrait" of Isis (See Figure 11).[34] Brendel argues that the figure could have been a portrait of an individual, whose characteristics deviate from that of a human (104-105). On the other hand, Sybille Haynes asserts that the bronze bust is indeed a goddess, arguing that it is "one of the oldest surviving cult images of a goddess" (155). While there is clear room for this bust's interpretation, there is a lack of discussion in modern academia surrounding the possibility that the Etruscans were the first to create cult images of a goddess. Again, we see here that the Etruscans' innovations, be it their extraordinary ability to personalize their dead within portraiture or their potential contributions to the foundation of cult images, are overlooked, ignored, and erased when examining ancient Mediterranean portraiture.

34. Carpino, 1010.

As we have seen, the Etruscans still have yet to be credited in modern western Mediterranean scholarship as the founders of landscape painting in ancient Italy, and their extensive portraiture and distinctive focus on emphasizing specific physical attributes in human portraiture are overshadowed by scholars' characterization of portraiture as a distinctly Greco-Roman invention. The absence of recognition of the Etruscans as the innovators of landscape paintings in ancient Italy, as well as ignoring their unique portraiture, contributes to the continued erasure of Etruscans by Greco-Roman scholars, who often accuse the "mysterious" Etruscans of copying from neighboring ancient groups.[35] While there are few surviving written records of the Etruscan civilization, the legacy of the Etruscans is hardly mysterious or concealed at all. Indeed, their enormous collection of painted sarcophagi is a testament to Etruscan grandeur and provides evidence of the numerous ways in which Etruscan art influenced the Greeks and Romans. Yet, since art history of the ancient western Mediterranean has been told largely through a predominantly Greco-Roman perspective, this begs the question of whether the current understanding of ancient western Mediterranean art is even

35. Smith, 1.

history at all if so many innovations of the Etruscans and likely other small civilizations are erased. If ancient historians are aiming to reveal the true history of the past, it is paramount that they recognize the biases that they may have toward Greco-Roman culture and reanalyze classical antiquity. Doing this, as well as properly crediting and praising the Etruscans and delving further into uncovering Etruscan truths, is necessary for classical art history to be an accurate story.

IMAGES

Figure I.
Map of Italy depicting the Etruscan, Villanovan and Greek settlements, Christopher Smith.

Figure II.
Tomb of the Ship, c. mid-5th century B.C.E, ARTstor.

Figure III.
Tomba delle Anatre, c. 680–660 B.C.E. Frieze, From Veii. Photo: *Regione Lazio*

Figure IV.
The Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, c. 530 B.C.E. Fresco, From Tarquinia. Photo: Bridgeman Images: The Bridgeman Library.

Figure V.
The Tomb of the Diver, lid c. 480-470 B.C.E. Fresco, From Paestum. Photo: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Paestum, Italy / The Bridgeman Art Library

Figure VI.
The Tomb of the Diver, lateral slab. c. 480–470 B.C.E. Fresco, From Paestum. Photo: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Paestum, Italy/The Bridgeman Art Library

Figure VII.
Male "Canopic" cinerary urn from Dolciano, late seventh-early sixth century B.C.E. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Chiusi.

Figure VIII.
Painted terracotta sarcophagus of Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa from Poggio Cantarello, near Chiusi, second century B.C.E. The British Museum, London, Inv. GR 1887.6– 8.9

Figure IX.
Stone sarcophagus lid of an anonymous elite Etruscan man, early third century B.C.E. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (Photograph: Courtesy of Michele Myra Archila).

Figure X.
Detail of the heads of the lid figures (a married couple) on a terracotta cinerary urn from Volterra, late second-early first century bce. Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, Volterra, Inv. 613.

Figure XI.
Bronze bust of a female from the so-called "Isis" Tomb in Vulci, early sixth century bce. The British Museum, London, Inv. 434

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Anon, Detail of the heads of the lid figures (a married couple) on a terracotta cinerary urn from Volterra, late second-early first century BCE. Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, Volterra, Inv. 613.

Anon, Painted terracotta sarcophagus of Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa from Poggio Cantaello, near Chiusi, second century BCE, The British Museum, London

Anon (2013) Male "Canopic" cinerary urn from Dolciano, ca. late seventh-early sixth century BCE Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

Anon (2014) Fishermen in a boat and birds flying, from the Tomb of Fishing and Hunting, ca. 520-510 BC (wall painting). Bridgeman Images: The Bridgeman Art Library.

Anon (2014) Painting from the Tomb of the Diver from the southern cemetery at Paestum, 480-470 BC (fresco). Bridgeman Images: Cultural Collection.

Anon (2014) Symposium scene, ca. 480-490 BC decorative fresco of north wall of Tomb of Diver at Paestum, Campania, Italy, Ancient Greek civilization, Magna Graecia, 5th Century BC. Bridgeman Images: DeAgostini Library.

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MIND YOUR LANGUAGE, MISTER! A CASE STUDY IN ARISTOPHANIC HUMOR

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From Keats's accusation that Newton had destroyed the beauty of the rainbow by reducing it to prismatic colors[1] to E. B. White's claim that "humor can be dissected, as a frog can, but the thing dies in the process and the innards are discouraging to any but the pure scientific mind,"[2] skepticism around destroying the beauty in poetic phenomena through scientific inquiry abounds. Yet we will put these disagreements aside, where they belong, and make headway into analyzing Aristophanic humor.[3] For that, we must first know what Aristophanic humor actually is.[4] I examine this by analyzing the *agōn* of Peisetairos, the Aristophanic hero and main character of *Birds*, with swift-footed Iris, the goddess familiar to most from Homeric epic. In Aristophanes' *Birds*—right after the bird-messenger has announced the end of construction work on the bird-wall and Peisetairos, in a metatheatrical comment, has compared the wall to a "pack of lies"[5]—the arrival of Iris passing through Chaos, the place of the bird city, and her breach of the bird-wall create continuous chaos onstage for a hundred lines. In this paper then, I examine the accumulation of various comic elements in this scene (*Av*. 1161–1261)—obscenities, disruptive

1. Dawkins, *Unweaving the Rainbow: Science, Delusion, and the Appetite for Wonder*, x.
2. White, "Preface,'' xi–xxii.
3. This paper is heavily influenced by the humorous and insightful discussions of Humor Theory and its applicability to Aristophanes and the reception of his comedies in *Aristophanic Humor: Theory and Practice*. Edited by Peter Swallow and Edith Hall. (Bloomsbury Academic, 2020).
4. M. S. Silk's *Aristophanes and the Definition of Comedy* is a wholly captivating and thoroughly insightful study of the different comedic techniques of Aristophanes, and the shifty linguistic idioms of Aristophanes' characters.
5. Aristophanes, *Aves*, line 1166. Translations throughout are my own, except when indicated otherwise. The edition used is Sommerstein, *Birds*. Vol. 6. (Aris and Phillips, 1987). In block quotations of *Birds*' text, I have indented the sentences to reflect the interruptions in speech, and wherever the metrical schema is maintained despite the speaker change.

and unstable linguistic idioms, non-linguistic incongruities—to argue that we can understand Aristophanic humor as an interwoven mesh of linguistic and non-linguistic incongruities that reinforce each other for an exaggerated comic effect.

During his aggressive interrogation of Iris, who has stopped mid-flight,[6] Peisetairos lets go a stream of foul language ascending in depravity, from risqué to obscene.[7] Since obscenity is hard to classify and depends heavily on its cultural context, a working definition of obscenity can help us analyze the language. Jeffrey Henderson provides such a definition in his seminal work on the obscene language of the Aristophanic corpus:

> By obscenity we mean verbal reference to areas of human activity or parts of the human body that are protected by certain taboos agreed upon by prevailing custom and subject to emotional aversion or inhibition. These are in fact the sexual and excremental areas. In order to be obscene, such a reference must be made by explicit expression that is itself subject to the same inhibitions as the thing it describes. Thus, to utter one of the numerous words, to be found in any language, which openly (noneuphemistically) describe the tabooed organs or actions is tantamount to exposing what should be hidden. (Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, 2)

Although Henderson is interested only in obscene language, I will also analyze the euphemistic vocabulary that builds up to the obscene language and the non-euphemistic verbal references to tabooed areas of human activity to show that the interrogation of Iris has sustained sexual undertones. The foul language of Peisetairos can be classified into three categories—

6. Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1201–1202.
7. Aristophanes, lines 1205–1256. A critical caveat here: The definition of obscenity and its cultural context in 5th century Athens does not operate on the same principles of inhibition as in most modern European societies. Henderson persuasively shows that the Greek definition of obscenity revolves around the concept of *aischros* "shameful"—the open proclamation of acts in the public sphere that belong in the private sphere of life. Hurling obscenities is not associated with guilt, but rather with shame. See Henderson, 5ff.

double entendres, euphemistic vocabulary, and obscene language— which I examine in turn.

The first double entendre comes shortly into the interrogation of Iris, as Peisetairos indignantly orders her arrest—ταυτηνί τις οὐ ξυλλήψεται / ἀναπτάμενος τρίορχος; (won't a three-legged hawk fly up and grab *her*?)[8]— to which a shocked Iris replies ἐμὲ ξυλλήψεται; / τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τουτὶ τὸ κακόν; (*Grab* me? / What's this wretchedness?)[9] Nan Dunbar writes that there is "probably a word-play on τρεῖς ὄρχεις, taking τρίορχος as *with three testicles* i.e. *unusually lecherous*."[10] Dunbar's suggestion has its merits because metonymic word play for humorous effect is certainly consistent with Aristophanic tendencies,[11] more so when it concerns metonymical word play with sexual connotations.[12] It seems also that with the middle deponent of συλλάμβανω, (to seize, lay hold of)[13] the sexual allusion would be hard to miss. In another question, later into the interrogation, the string of double entendres undermines Iris' position for comic effect:

Πε. ἤκουσας αὐτῆς, οἷον εἰρωνεύεται;
πρὸς τοὺς κολοιάρχους προσῆλθες; οὐ λέγεις;
σφαγῖδ' ἔχεις παρὰ τῶν πελαργῶν;
Ιρ. Τί τὸ κακόν;
Πε. Οὐκ ἔλαβες;
Ιρ. ὑγιαίνεις μέν;
Πε. οὐδὲ σύμβολον ἐπέβαλεν
ὀρνίθαρχος οὐδείς σοι παρών;
Ιρ. μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔμοιγ' ἐπέβαλεν οὐδεὶς ὦ μέλε.

Pe. Do you hear her, how she mimics Miss Manners?
Did you come onto the Chief Jackdaws? Speak, won't you?
Do you have a *stamp* from the storks?
Ir. What's this wretchedness?

8. Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1205–1206.
9. Aristophanes, lines 1207–1208.
10. Dunbar, *ad loc*.
11. Silk, *Aristophanes and the Definition of Comedy*, 122ff.
12. Robson, "Slipping One In: The Introduction of Obscene Lexical Items in Aristophanes," 41.
13. LSJ, s.v. "συλλαμβάνω."

Pe. You didn't get it?
Ir. You *are* sane, no?
Pe. And no Chief Bird was around to stick a *stamp* on you?
Ir. By Zeus, nobody's been *sticking* me, mister!
(Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1211–1216)

Dunbar also sees this sequence of interrogation as laden with double entendres, which she believes could have been made explicit by further gesticulation.[14] She posits that προσῆλθες "might contain a double entendre,"[15] but she sees surely obscene undertones in σφαγῖδ' ἔχεις and σύμβολον ἐπέβαλεν. She suggests that σφαγίς and σύμβολον are used synonymously to refer to "semen-deposit." The only other reference to σφαγίς in the play supports her conclusion since it also occurs in a sexualized context earlier: ἐπιβάλλειν σφαγῖδ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ψωλήν (stick a seal on their hard pricks),[16] announcing Peisetairos as the punishment for adulterous male-gods while convincing the birds to join forces. Then he recycles the joke against Iris, a goddess, as the audience is already primed for sexual undertones of σφαγίς from the earlier passage. Iris' responses—the colloquial τί τὸ κάκον, the unusual μέν implying Peisetairos' insanity, and the empathic rebuttal shutting down the discourse on σφαγίς—underscore both the comical nature of the situation and the increasingly sexualized nature of interrogation. Although Dunbar classifies all the elements in this exchange as double entendres, Iris' comment at 1215 tells us that she has interpreted the double entendre as a euphemistic allusion to sexual intercourse with the birds—an assertion which justifiably angers her.

Yet Peisetairos has plausible deniability on his side. But he abandons its comforting embrace to embark on a discourse of all-out obscenities as his attempts to threaten Iris prove futile. After threatening to send an assortment of avian attackers, eagles and six hundred Porphyrins, to burn down the house of Zeus (1246–1252),[17] Peisetairos, as a last resort, threatens to sexually assault Iris:

14. Dunbar, *ad loc*.
15. Dunbar, *ad loc*.
16. Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 559–560.
17. Aristophanes, lines 1246–1252.

Πε. σὺ δ᾽ εἴ με λυπήσεις τι, τῆς διακόνου
πρώτης ἀνατείνας τὼ σκέλει διαμηριῶ
τὴν Ἶριν αὐτήν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ὅπως
οὕτω γέρων ὢν στύομαι τριέμβολον.

Pe. And if you distress me at all,
then I'll take on the servant first - raise up her
legs and screw her, so as to amaze her how at my age
I'm still hard enough like a three-ships beak.
(Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1253–1256)

In this hair-raising threat of sexual violence, the truly coarse vocabulary comes out: διαμηριῶ, στύομαι—both classifiable as primary obscenities.[18] These obscenities form the climax of the sexualized context established fifty lines earlier. The ascending order of foulness, the gradual build-up to the obscene with double entendres and the continuation of obscenities once the primary obscenity is introduced follows an Aristophanic tendency, which Robson dubs the "build-up" technique.[19] The audience is primed for the introduction of obscenities, which here takes the form of a remarkable outburst deflating the hostility of Iris, who can now think of no witty response and concedes defeat to Peisetairos' language: διαρραγείης ὦ μέλ᾽ αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν (Blast you, mister, and your utterings).[20]

However, the leap between the levels of obscenity is elsewhere not accompanied by a thorough deflation of what Robson dubs "high-flown language," which is usually reserved for another Aristophanic tendency: the "obscenity out of nowhere" without a hint of sexualized context.[21] Also, the language which Robson labels "high-flown" is tragic language, but there are only fleeting traces of tragic language in Peisetairos' response to Iris' threat. There is, however, a deflation of "high-flown" language here. The language that Peisetairos deflates is his own markedly sophistic language on whose heels the obscenities come in hot and disrupt

18. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, 5.
19. Robson, "Slipping One In: The Introduction of Obscene Lexical Items in Aristophanes," 43.
20. Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1256–1257.
21. Robson, "Slipping One In: The Introduction of Obscene Lexical Items in Aristophanes," 37.

the established sophistic idiom:

Πε. ἄκουσον αὔτη: παῦε τῶν παφλασμάτων:
ἔχ᾽ ἀτρέμα. φέρ᾽ ἴδω, πότερα Λυδὸν ἢ Φρύγα
τὴν Ἶριν αὐτήν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ὅπως
ταυτὶ λέγουσα μορμολύττεσθαι δοκεῖς;

Pe. Listen here, you: stop your bubblings:
Stay still! Look here, do you think I am some Lydian or Phrygian
that you will have scarecrowed saying *these* things?
(Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1243–1245)

In Peisetairos' outburst of profanity, the noun πάφλασμα and the verb μορμολύττομαι securely establish the idiom as sophistic. In his examination of the linguistic features of the various languages and dialects in Aristophanes' plays, Andreas Willi (2006) includes the abstract μα- nouns under "Sophistic Innovations."[22] While he mentions that the class of -μα nouns is old and that stylistically unmarked -μα nouns exist (e.g., πρᾶγμα, πνεῦμα), the hapax legomenon, the Aristophanic neologism πάφλασμα (< παφλάζω " to splutter", "to bluster"[23]) is anything but stylistically unmarked,[24] especially because of its collocation with μορμολύττομαι, which is only found in contemporary usage in philosophical texts. In Xenophon's *Symposium*, Charmides playfully retorts Socrates' claim of self-control against kissing boys in the bloom of youth. He retorts that Socrates is scaring them away from beautiful beings (μορμολύττη ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν), when he does the very thing with Critobolus.[25] The verb μορμολύττομαι is used in similar contexts

22. Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes: Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek*, 136–141.
23. LSJ, s.v. "πάφλασμα."
24. As Professor Sarah Morris has pointed out to me, the noun πάφλασμα might also echo Aristophanes' favorite target Cleon, the Paphlagonian, from Anatolia with a play on παφλάζω— especially since Aristophanes xenophobically ridicules the Near-Eastern Phrygians and Lydians in the next line; thereby Aristophanes would not only have targeted the prevalent sophistic lexicon but also snuck in ridicule of Cleon, as he does in his earlier plays *Knights* and *Clouds* (cf. Ar. *Kn.* 2, 6; see also Ar. *Cl.* 581).
25. Xenophon, *Symposium*, 4.26–4.27.

of a feigned threat in Plato's *Crito*[26] and *Phaedo*.[27] It might also underscore a feigned threat in the Aristophanic passage, but it certainly underscores stylistically sophistic language.

The collocation then of the sophistic with the coarse, intellectual with the obscene, makes for an exaggerated comic effect (one typical of Aristophanes) since the obscenities, as Robson argues, "can also serve to emphasize a figure's non-conformity with social conventions and/or lack of social sophistication."[28] In a matter of few lines, Peisetairos establishes himself as an intellectual trained in the rhetorical arts, only to expose himself by resorting to coarse vocabulary when the situation compels. I do not mean to imply that a sophist cannot have coarse vocabulary in their repertoire, only that Peisetairos seemingly reveals his hidden coarseness from under the sophistic garb that he had put on earlier in the play.[29] When brain fails him, he turns to brawn, to open threats of sexual violence. And it is not only Peisetairos' language that is seemingly inconsistent—Iris is a worse offender against Aristophanic linguistic norms than Peisetairos.

While Iris is misgendered continuously in the messenger's description of a god's assault on the bird-walls,[30] and in the chorus' lament at the breach of the perimeter wall,[31] Peisetairos

26. Plato, Crito, 46c.
27. Plato, Phaedo, 2.468.
28. Robson, "Slipping One In: The Introduction of Obscene Lexical Items in Aristophanes," 36.
29. Aristophanes, Aves, lines 450–452.
30. Aristophanes, lines 1174–1184. The participial and pronominal endings reveal the misgendering of Iris: in his distraught state, the Bird-Messenger refers to the invader as "someone of the gods" (τῶν γὰρ θεῶν τις, 1172) and then elaborates on the maneuvers of the god who has evaded**(m.)** the jackdaws on daytime-watch-duty" (**λαθὼν** [emphasis mine] κολοιοὺς φύλακας ἡμεροσκόπους, 1174). Peisetairos sustains the wrong identification in his lament (ὦ δεινὸν ἔργον καὶ σχέτλιον **εἰργασμένος** [emphasis mine], 1175), and then orders the brigade of birds to launch an offensive "against him" **(κατ' αὐτὸν).** Finally, in his description of the offensive against Iris, the Bird-Messenger reveals the discombobulated state of the ether (the fictional stage location): ἀιθὴρ δονεῖται τοῦ θεοῦ **ζητουμένου** [emphasis mine] "The ether is spinning, and the god **(m.)** is being sought" (1183).
31. Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1189–1198.

correctly identifies her gender as she draws near: **αὕτη** [emphasis mine] σύ, ποῖ ποῖ ποῖ πέτε; "Hey **you(f.)**, where where where are you jetting in?"[32] Even after the correct identification of her gender, however, her dialogue with Peisetairos betrays the features of "Female Speech" that Willi identifies and classifies.[33] Nowhere does she identify her father, which Willi sees as a preliminary to an unambiguously unmarried female character in Aristophanic corpus.[34] Instead, when asked from where she hails—ποδαπή; λέγειν ἐχρῆν ὁπόθεν ποτ' εἶ (What country? You should really tell me where in the hell you are coming from.)[35]—she provides a generic answer: παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔγωγε τῶν Ὀλυμπίων (I hail from the Gods, the Olympian Gods.)[36] Thus, her identification as a female character on linguistic criteria is already on shaky ground, even though, as Henderson argues, she is conceptualized as a woman.[37] Also, in the analysis of conditional particles (e.g., ἄν, ὅπως—also a conjunction), Willi finds the conclusion more appealing that "women's speech is more subjective."[38] However, Iris uses only indicative and imperative verbs, and avoids the subjective moods—optative and subjunctive—altogether. The instability of language, then, and the violation of linguistic norms, both by Peisetairos and Iris, creates an accumulated comic effect with a shifting and disruptive linguistic idiom.

In addition to the linguistic incongruities—by which I mean the shifting linguistic idioms, and the systematic exploitation of Greek morphology, and dialectal and sociolectal variation—understood in Pragmatics as acceptable violations of Grice's cooperative principles (maxims that allow us to communicate effectively),[39] most of the humorous effect in this

32. Aristophanes, *Aves*, line 1190.
33. Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes: Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek*, 157–197.
34. Willi, 170.
35. Aristophanes, *Aves*, line 1200.
36. Aristophanes, line 1202.
37. Henderson, "Pherekrates and the Women of Old Comedy," 137.
38. Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes: Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek*, 177.
39. For a discussion of Grice's cooperative principles and the typology of their violations contributing to Humor, see Attardo, Salvatore. "The Cooperative Nature of Humor," 272–277.

scene derives from non-linguistic incongruities. In analyzing the non-linguistic incongruities of this scene, I use Craig Jendza's theory of the "Broadened Cooperative Principle" (BCP) that, in his words, "incorporates not just language but the entire set of standards that allow us to navigate our culture successfully: gender, clothing, sexuality, obscenity, violence, and even concepts like literary genre."[40] He contends that "humor is generated through the violation of BCP, and that this is primarily accomplished through the perception and resolution of incongruities.[41] In this scene, the non-linguistic incongruities—the opposition of immortal Iris and the transcended mortal Peisetairos, his feeble threats of sexual violence against an out-of-reach Iris on the *mēchanē*, the costuming of Peisetairos as a bird and Iris as a ship—run the gamut. I examine these incongruities in turn to illustrate the accumulation of comic effect through a diverse range of non-linguistic incongruities that run parallel to the linguistic ones discussed before.

Peisetairos' utter disdain for Iris and her feeble prophecies of violence against him deflates her status as a goddess. Treated with disdain from the start, she is expelled from the bird-city with an outburst of obscenities. In the context of the Dionysian festival, Peisetairos vehemently mocks the caricature of a goddess, and this is presumably viewed as acceptable. Since non-linguistic incongruities depend on the violation of BCP, as Jendza contends, explaining the violation of BCP—the exploitation of a frame with "robust," "firmly defined," and "easily transgressable"[42] standards—requires the establishment of a frame. In this instance, the frame is the conundrum of (im)mortality. That (im)mortality is a frame of the sort Jendza's theory requires as evident from Peisetairos' threat to kill Iris:

Πε. ἆρά γ᾽ οἶσθα τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι
δικαιότατ᾽ ἄν ληφθεῖσα πασῶν ἰρίδων
ἀπέθανες, εἰ τῆς ἀξίας ἐτύχγανες;
Ιρ. ἀλλ᾽ ἀθάνατός εἰμ᾽.

40. Jendza, "Aristophanic Incongruities," 39.
41. Jendza, 41.
42. Jendza, 44.

Πε. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἄν ἀπέθανες.

Pe. Do you know this, that if you got
your deserts you'd have had the strongest claim
out of all rainbows to be seized and put to death?
Ir. But I'm immortal!
Pe. Doesn't matter, you'd still have been put to death.
(Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1211–1216)

The frame of opposition between mortality and immortality is evident from Peisetairos' senseless threat to kill Iris and her quick but ineffectual retort. The frame, however, is established when Peisetairos turns a deified natural phenomenon, the goddess Ἶρις, back into a natural phenomenon ἶρις (rainbow), resolving the non-linguistic incongruity between mortality and immortality: The goddess Rainbow cannot die, but surely the phenomenon rainbow could. The threat to kill Iris, a goddess, in a deeply religious society seems controversial and perhaps not humorous, but, as Martin Revermann writes, "when examining comedy's relationship with divinity and religious practice we witness a degree of license and elasticity."[43] While I make no wholesale claim for comedic license here, I will argue that Aristophanes chooses Iris as the target for mockery because of her already deflated status in Athenian society.

The portrayal and caricature, and even blatant mockery, of Iris starts to become integrated into Athenian cultural life at the beginning of the 6th century BCE. On vase paintings starting in the late 6th century BCE and extending into the mid 4th century BCE, there are numerous representations of Iris being molested by the satyrs of Dionysus.[44] The entry in LIMC on this myth explains the mythological content thus:

Hera ist Dionysos feindlich gesonnen und schickt ihre Botin I[ris] aus, um Opfer an Dionysos zu verhindern bzw. die Opferstücke vom Altar zu rauben. Doch die Satyrn wollen dies als treue Diener ihres Herrn nicht zulassen und greifen ein, in dem I[ris] fangen und ihr Gewalt antun wollen.

43. Revermann, "Divinity and Religious Practice," 275.
44. LIMC *Iris*, 105–120.

> Hera harbors hostility towards Dionysus and sends out her messenger Iris to prevent sacrifices to Dionysus, or to steal the sacrificial pieces from the altar. But the satyrs, as loyal servants of their master, do not want to allow this and intervene by capturing Iris and want to commit acts of violence against her. (LIMC s.v. "Iris im dionysischen Kreis," 751–752)

The rivalry of the Dionysian satyrs and Iris in the myth plays out as the rivalry of Peisetairos and Iris on the stage. By keeping the sacrificial pretext from the myth as Iris declares her intent to bolster sacrifices on Zeus' behalf,[45] Aristophanes seamlessly fuses an otherwise incongruous attack on the immortal Iris with the mythological content on the vase paintings. In the LIMC entry, Kossatz-Deissmann offers a conjecture about the history of the myth itself: *Literarische Quellen zu diesem Stoff sind nicht erhalten, doch muß das Thema auf ein Satyrspiel zurückgehen* (Sources for this material have not been preserved, but the theme must go back to a satyr play).[46] If this conjecture is true, the myth must have been a part of the earliest performed satyr plays, since vase paintings with this myth started appearing in the late 6th century BCE.[47] In any case, the myth must have been extremely old and, as Dunbar, enumerating the satyr plays in which Iris could have appeared, writes, "Iris threatened with sexual assault, as here by Peis. (1253–1256), was a familiar theatrical spectacle."[48] Thus, the non-linguistic incongruities, the maltreatment of Iris and the opposition of figures dressed in Dionysian garb, would have been also familiar generally to Aristophanes' audience from vase paintings and theater performances of satyr plays, which, I contend, incentivizes

45. Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1230–1233
46. LIMC, 751–752
47. The absolute dating of the first satyr plays remains controversial, but we see the first depiction of satyrs in Attic vase painting starting in 520 BCE, a few years before the date Dunbar proposes for the first satyr play involving Iris. See Collard and O' Sullivan "General Introduction," 22–28.
48. Dunbar, *Birds*, 417. See also the synoptic discussion of the "Iris and the Satyrs" iconographic motif and its conjectured influence on Aristophanes in Elizabeth W. Shaffenberger, "Peisetairos' 'Satyric' Treatment of Iris: Aristophanes Birds 1253-6," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vol. 115 (1995): 172–173.

Aristophanes to ridicule her already deflated status.

However, that seems antithetical to the hints of Incongruity Theory in Aristotle's Rhetoric where he argues that "humour can arise when a verbal unit proceeds 'μη… πρὸς τὴν ἔμπροσθεν δόξαν'('not according to previous expectation,' 3.11[49])."[50] If Peisetairos behaves in a way that the audience already expects, there would hardly be sustained humor. Aristophanes, however, has a few tricks up his sleeves. Instead of dressing Peisetairos in a satyr costume, he alludes to human-birds, a different kind of animal. Tereus gave Peisetairos and Euelpides "some root" (τι ῥιζίον) to grow wings,[51] and the effects of the avian transformation are apparent right after the parabasis of Birds, as Peisetairos likens Euelpides to a "goose painted on the cheap" and Euelpides, in congenial reciprocity, likens Peisetairos to a "blackbird with a bowl pluck."[52] Euelpides has long gone off-stage by the time Iris arrives,[53] but human-bird Peisetairos, the chorus dressed as Birds, and the bird-messenger are still on stage. Aristophanes has re-imagined the mythological scene on stage, where Peisetairos through increasingly coarse language takes on a more satyr-like persona. But Aristophanes thereby creates another incongruity with the myth: Iris is out of the "satyr" Peisetairos' reach.

While there is no visual evidence—*testimonia* or vase paintings of the scene—that Iris was on the *mēchanē*, the language during the encounter of Iris and Peisetairos suggests that Iris is above the stage-level. As Dunbar writes, "[t]he many references in this episode to Iris as flying … suggest that she appeared on the μηχανή or flying-machine."[54] So Peisetairos' vile threats stay

49. Aristotle' terminology might be familiar to the reader from its English derivative "paraprodoskian" in modern literary criticism. For an overview of paraprodoskian as one of a "number of familiar Aristophanic maneuvers" discussed usually in isolation, see M. S. Silk, "Language and Style," 137ff.
50. Swallow, "Introduction: Dissecting the Frog(s)," 4.
51. Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 654–655.
52. Aristophanes, lines 805–806. Translations here are Sommerstein's.
53. Aristophanes, line 849.
54. Dunbar, *Birds*, 416.

futile. He has turned into a satyr and, on the *mēchanē*, with her light gown that billows out like a sail,[55] Iris becomes a ship. And this non-linguistic incongruity of metamorphoses, of Peisetairos into a satyr and Iris into a ship, becomes the butt of many jokes. Peisetairos inquires which ship of the Athenian fleet might she be (ὄνομα δε σοι τί; Πάραλος ἤ Σαλαμινία; (what's your name? Is it Paralos, or Salaminia?), and then compares her to a πλοῖον "merchant-ship."[56] In two other places as well, (ναυστολεῖς)[57]—[< ναῦς + στολέω] lit. "carry, or convey by ship"[58]— and στύομαι τριέμβολον "an erection like a three-ships beak,"[59] Aristophanes sneaks in ship metaphors. Metonymical wordplay on the stage.[60] But central to the reinforcement of the non-linguistic incongruity—the breaking of the theatrical illusion as the language alludes to Iris' costuming—are the linguistic incongruities that underscore the comicality of the scene. Similarly, Peisetairos' increasingly coarse language reinforces his appearance as a satyr.

As a principle then, in this *agōn* of Peisetairos and Iris, the linguistic incongruities mirror the non-linguistic incongruities, and Aristophanes employs both for an exaggerated comic effect whereby the language itself is a variegated guise characters assume and disown contingent on the comic impulse of the playwright. Just as Peisetairos' language betrays his sophistic persona, his satyr-like nature emerges in the scene through the slow build-up of coarse vocabulary. Iris becomes a ship and Peisetairos even modifies his obscene vocabulary to reinforce the non-linguistic incongruities of Iris' costuming. Aristophanic humor, using this scene as a case study, can be

55. Sommerstein, *Birds*, 143.
56. Aristophanes, *Aves*, lines 1203–1204.
57. Aristophanes, line 1229.
58. LSJ, s.v. "ναυστόλεω."s
59. Aristophanes, *Aves*, line 1250.
60. See also Aristophanes' *Acharnians* where "King's eye" enters in an absurd costume and is compared to a ship: ὥναξ Ἡράκλεις / πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἄνθρωπε, ναύφαρκτον, βλέπεις; / ἢ περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων νεώσοικον σκοπεῖς; "Lord Hercules! / "By the gods, man, do you look ship-fenced?! / Or are you scoping out the dock winding round the headland?!" (92–96). The edition used is Olson, Douglas S. *Aristophanes: Acharnians*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2002. Thanks to Professor Morris for pointing this out to me.

understood as a budding feedback loop of linguistic and non-linguistic incongruities that then ultimately bursts into a remarkable climax. However, we need to exercise caution as only a meticulous and protracted analysis of the language itself reveals aspects of costuming and stage directions. In adapting a scene like this, then, with no *testimonia* or vase-paintings of the stage choreography and costuming, lies the opportunity to employ elements of staging (e.g., music, lighting) to challenge the patriarchal humor-inducing norms of Aristophanes and, within the framework of Aristophanic humor, re-imagine his comedies for our times.[61]

61. I would like to thank Professors Dustin Dixon (Grinnell College) and Sarah Morris (UCLA) for reading many drafts of this paper and for providing invaluable feedback.

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THE GOLDEN BOUGH AENEID 6.183-211
MORRELL OLD, TRANSLATOR
GRINNELL COLLEGE

NOTE FROM THE TRANSLATOR

I used English free verse, prioritizing conversational English style over faithfulness to the exact grammar of the original Latin text. I also used English past tense instead of Vergil's present tense for stylistic reasons. I translated *cunctantem* (211) as "it delayed," using the finite verb instead of the participle to make it sound better in English. I chose "delay" because "delayer" is the usual English translation of Quintus Fabius' agnomen, *Cunctator*, and because the branch can only be plucked according to fate and there is no resisting fate, only delaying it.

I added a completely original metaphor in the last line of my translation ("a dutiful hound playing fetch") because Aeneas is described as *pius* (i.e., dutiful) throughout the *Aeneid*. The grand quest he has to complete to get to the underworld is nothing more than fetching a stick. Calling him a hound acknowledges his strength and intelligence, as hunting dogs, but he is less defined by his strength than by his loyalty and obedience to the gods—masters who are in a completely different class of being and whose end goals he cannot understand.

Morrell Old

Aeneas pulled his weight,
and encouraged his companions in carrying out the Sibyll's orders,
but in his mournful heart he was still thinking of the golden bough.
With an axe limp in his hand he studied the forest,
a mass of browns and greens,
getting his hopes up every time he saw something
just a little bit yellow –
a fallen leaf, or a patch of fungus.

And then, when he had wandered far enough that his men wouldn't hear,
he spoke aloud: "If only that golden bough would show itself! Oh,
Misenus, if only that seer hadn't been so right about you."

clxxxiii Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
hortatur socios, paribusque accingitur armis.
Atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat,
aspectans silvam inmensam, et sic voce precatur:
"Si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
ostendat nemore in tanto, quando omnia vere
heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est."

He had hardly closed his mouth
when two doves swooped just under
his nose and alighted on the grass.
Aeneas, great hero that he was,
recognized them as the birds of his mother.
He prayed further:
"Please, show me the way,

if any exists for me,
through this impossible grove to the golden bough.
And oh -"
with this his gaze flicked skyward
"-goddess, *mother*, don't leave me,
when things are so uncertain."

Vix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae
ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes, cxc
et viridi sedere solo. Tum maximus heros
maternas agnoscit aves, laetusque precatur:
"Este duces, O, si qua via est, cursumque per auras
dirigite in lucos, ubi pinguem dives opacat
ramus humum. Tuque, O, dubiis ne defice rebus,
diva parens." Sic effatus vestigia pressit,
observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.

The doves never left his sight
as he followed their path like scattered birdseed.
He smelled the opening to Avernus before he saw it,
all foul mist like the malodorous maw of some carnivorous beast.
The two doves slipped up through the clear air and
picked their positions on a tree
where gold gleamed unnaturally bright through the leaves.

Pascentes illae tantum prodire volando,
quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum. cxcix
Inde ubi venere ad fauces grave olentis Averni,
tollunt se celeres, liquidumque per aëra lapsae
sedibus optatis geminae super arbore sidunt,
discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.

Just as mistletoe grows bright green
on a winter-brown tree, the spawn of another,
so the branch appeared,
gold foil rattling in a breath of breeze.

Aeneas snatched it off the tree, where it delayed
just long enough for panic
to jolt through his heart
but came away in his heroic hand soon enough.
This golden bough
he brought back beneath
the roofs of the Sibyll,
a dutiful hound
playing fetch.

Quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum ccvi
fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,
et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos,
talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento.
Corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit
cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.

DEAD MEN HAVE NO SOULS ❧ THE PROBLEM OF THE PRINCIPLE OF HOMONYMY IN ARISTOTLE

❧ Rebekah Locke, University of New Orleans

In the beginning of book two of *De Anima*, Aristotle asks the reader to "start anew, as if the beginning" in his conception of the soul.[1] He says we must endeavor "to determine what the soul is, what its most common account would be."[2] Ultimately, Aristotle argues for a hylomorphic conception of man: he claims that living animals, including humans, are composed of both form and matter. The term *hylomorphism* comes from a combination of the Greek word for matter—*hulê*—and the Greek word for form—*morphê*.[3] What's more, "Aristotle regularly distinguishes form, matter, and 'the composite.' The last is the actual ('separable') thing, and to speak of form and matter is to speak of the form and the matter *of* such a thing."[4] Hylomorphism, then, is the composition of both form and matter, where the matter constituting the composite being can be "picked out":

> In order that the matter-form distinction should be clearly applicable to anything, that a thing should be capable of being seen as a composite of matter and form, it is necessary that the material constituent should be capable of being picked out. (Ackrill, "Aristotle's Definitions," 124)

Aristotle further explains the hylomorphism of man as the combination of the "soul," which is the form of man, with the flesh, blood, and bone of the body, which is the matter of man with the potential for life. In the second book of *De Anima*, Aristotle also brings up the concept of homonymy in conjunction with the soul, namely that a human body is only a proper human body when it is ensouled. Homonymy is the sharing of name between objects with no other shared characteristics:

> When things have only a name in common and the definition of being which corresponds to the name is different, they are called homonymous. Thus, for example, both a man and a picture are animals. These have only a name in common and the definition of being which corresponds to the name is different; for if one is to say what being an animal is for each of them, one will give two distinct definitions. (Aristotle, *Categories: Chapter 1-5*, 1a1–4.)

1. Aristotle, *De Anima*, 412a 1–5.

2. Aristotle, *De Anima*, 412b4–5.

3. Thomas Ainsworth, "Form vs. Matter".

4. J.T. Ackrill, "Aristotle's Definitions of 'Psuche,'" 120.

Aristotelian homonymy presents a difficulty when confronting the hylomorphism of man.[5] Aristotle claimed that because man is hylomorphic—composed of matter and form—for a person to be a true person he must be "ensouled." But "unensouled" bodies—such as dead bodies that no longer have souls—are only bodies in name, or homonymy. Because dead, and thus unenformed, bodies cannot fulfill their defining functions, they are only bodies homonymously:

> He [Aristotle] argues that an organism and its parts are to be defined by their functions, so that something lacking the functions of a hand cannot be a hand. A dead hand still looks like a hand, but it cannot do what a hand does; in these two ways it is similar to a painted or sculpted hand. The painted hand is no hand, but just an expanse of paint; the dead hand is no hand but just a lump of matter. (T. H. Irwin, "Homonymy in Aristotle," 528)

This means that human bodies must necessarily be ensouled to be considered human: "For it [Aristotle's hylomorphism] entails that no human body is contingently ensouled; rather, every human body is essentially ensouled and goes out of existence at the moment it loses its soul, that is, at the moment of death."[6] However, because matter can survive accidental changes, "any matter which underlies generation [and such changes] is only contingently enformed by the form which it acquires in the process of generation."[7] This raises the problem that—for Aristotle—man is both contingently and necessarily ensouled:

> Matter, according to hylomorphism, is contingently

5. Although I focus on the homonymy of persons in this paper, Aristotle extended this principle to all living things, including animals and even plants: "Moreover, given that he evidently regards the bodies of all ensouled creatures as homonymous, including those of animals and plants, Aristotle's point is really quite general." Christopher Shields, "The Homonymy of the Body in Aristotle," 3.

6. Christopher Shields, "Aristotle's Psychology."

7. Shields, "Aristotle's Psychology."

> enformed; so, bodies, treated by Aristotle as matter, should also be contingently enformed. If, however, bodies are only homonymously bodies when they have lost their souls, then bodies are necessarily enformed: bodies are necessarily actually alive. So, human bodies are both contingently and necessarily enformed. (Shields, "Aristotle's Psychology")

Therefore, if Aristotle commits himself to both the hylomorphic conception of man and the homonymy of a dead or "unensouled" body as only a body in name, he is faced with a contradiction. J. L. Ackrill sums up this problem in his article "Aristotle's Definitions of '*Psuche*'":

> To sum up, Aristotle's definitions of *psuche* resist interpretation because (i) the contrast of form and matter in a composite makes ready sense only where the matter can be picked out in such a way that it could be conceived as existing without that form, but (ii) his account of the body and bodily organs makes unintelligible, given the homonymy principle, the suggestion that this body or these organs might lack or have lacked *psuche*. (Ackrill, "Aristotle's Definitions," 126)

To demonstrate the difference between form and matter, Aristotle uses an analogy of a house: the bricks, mud, stones, etc., are the matter of a house while the house itself has a specific function, that of a shelter for other beings. The house has a purpose and a definition beyond the physical stuff that makes it up. Form is what gives a composite artifact or being its function while matter is the physical instantiation of individual forms: "In these cases, the thing that underlies is the matter of the substance. When someone builds a house, it is the bricks which persist through the change. They transition from a state of not being a house to acquire the property of being a house."[8] This is also true of man. The ensouled body is made of both matter and form, and this is the only type of human existence that Aristotle endorses:

8. Ainsworth, "Form vs. Matter."

> Nevertheless, the same analysis holds in the case of organisms, which are the substances proper: when an organism is created or destroyed, when an acorn becomes an oak tree, or a human dies, there must be some matter which persists through the change. To say otherwise would be to say that things can come to be out of, or vanish into, nothing, and Aristotle understandably agrees with his predecessor Parmenides that this is impossible (*Physics* i 8, 191a23–b17). (Ainsworth, "Form vs. Matter")

To be clear, the soul as form "is not a mere arrangement of material components. Rather it is a causal power that comes to be in the body when it has reached a certain level of organization."[9] In living organisms, form—the soul—is what makes individual beings true beings:

9. Fred D. Miller, "Aristotle's Philosophy of Soul."

> The word "form" may misleadingly suggest that what is acquired in a case of substantial generation is simply a shape, and this impression is reinforced by some of the examples that Aristotle uses, especially when focusing on artefacts: plausibly the form of a bronze statue just is its shape. When we consider organisms, however, it becomes apparent that having the right shape is not sufficient to possess the form. A thing's form is its definition or essence—what it is to be a human being. (Ainsworth, "Form vs. Matter")

However, looking to the Principle of Homonymy as explained later, homonymy predicates living beings as necessarily ensouled.

In his *Metaphysics*, Aristotle claims that we put form into matter in order to produce a compound being. This means that both the matter and the form must exist prior to the existence of the compound being. However, the matter of a human body is not even potentially a body until it is enformed by the soul. It is the ensoulment itself that creates a human body: "Bronze can exist as an indeterminate lump, being potentially but not actually the statue of a great hero. There is no ready analogue in the case of the body: the body is not so much stuff lying about waiting to be enformed by a soul. Rather, in one important sense, human bodies become human bodies *by* being ensouled."[10] The matter of a human body does not exist in a potential state like the bricks that make up a house. This creates a problem for

10. Fred D. Miller, "Aristotle's Philosophy of Soul."

Aristotle's hylomorphism because in claiming that a body is only a body when ensouled, one ends up with illogical and unintended consequences:

> Briefly, this consequence seems to upset the very terms of hylomorphism within which Aristotle's entire theory is adumbrated: if the wax is the matter of the candle, and the shape is its form, then the wax is only contingently the matter of a candle precisely because the same wax could sustain a different form and so serve as the matter of something other than the candle, for instance a figurine. If, by contrast, a body is a body only when ensouled, then the body is necessarily, and not contingently, ensouled. (Aristotle, De Anima, 165)

The human body is necessarily ensouled; a body without a soul is only a body in name. It is here that we encounter the problem of the Principle of Homonymy.

Part of the Aristotelian Principle of Homonymy is the notion that two beings or artifacts can share a name without sharing a definition or function. Thus a riverbank and a financial bank are both banks, but they do not share the same definition or function.[11] Things sharing a common name can have differing relations to the term they are identified with if their matter, form, function, or character are not the same.[12] Julie Ward gives another example of Aristotelian homonymy in "Aristotelian Homonymy":

> [W]e employ the term "animal" homonymously if we apply it to a human being and a drawing of a human. These things are homonymous in the sense that they do not share animality—the property of being an animal as do a human being and an ox. To mention but one obvious difference, "animal" in one case refers to a biological property while it does not refer to the same property in the case of the drawing. Since the term "animal" picks out different properties in each kind of thing, it is being used homonymously (Cat. 1a1–4). (Ward, "Aristotelian Homonymy," 576)

11. Julie Ward, "Aristotelian Homonymy," 577.

12. Ward, "Aristotelian Homonymy," 576.

We may call a picture of a person a person, but because the picture cannot fulfill the functions of an actual person, it is not the same thing as a living, ensouled person. A picture is only homonymously the same thing as what it represents because it differs in definitional function and matter: "On this [Aristotle's] account x and y are homonymously F if and only if the name 'F' applies to both x and y, but a different definition ('account of being') must replace 'F' in 'x is F' and in 'y is F.' This is a definition of homonymous things."[13] Therefore, even though we use the same term—body—for a living and dead body, the two are only homonymously related; they share only a name and not a function or definition.

13. Irwin, "Homonymy in Aristotle," 524.

In his paper "The Homonymy of the Body in Aristotle," Christopher Shields proposes a solution to the problem of homonymy by looking at a Functional Deterministic account of the homonymy of the ensouled body versus the unensouled body. In sum: "(*FD* [Functional Determinism]: An individual *a* will belong to a kind of class *F* iff: *a* can perform the function of that kind of class."[14] Shields expounds upon this thusly:

> Aristotle contends that the body is homonymous (DA 412b20-25, 412b7-13a2), and supposes this claim to be of service in his hylomorphic analysis of soul and body. He suggests, in fact, that a dead body is not a body *except* homonymously…and evidently takes this to shore up his contentions that human beings have characteristic functions…of a determinate sort, and that human bodies have these functions in virtue of being ensouled. (Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 1)

14. Christopher Shields, "The Homonymy of the Body in Aristotle," 9.

Shields argues that it is the specific functions of the human body that make it what it is, namely, a living person. The contention that a dead body is not a true person but only a body homonymously leads Shields to the view that the Principle of Homonymy can be met with a functionalist approach to bodies and their capacities: "[Aristotle's] view would seem to be that a functionally specified human body must be able to engage in complicated sorts of activities including nutrition and perception, and that dead bodies fail to qualify for the simple

reason that they lack these abilities."[15] This means that dead bodies do not overlap with living bodies functionally at all but only in name, only homonymously. Shields cites Aristotle's *Meteorologica* later in his paper when he claims that Aristotle asserts a thesis of Functional Determinism and that this theory has clear ramifications for the Principle of Homonymy:

15. Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 8.

> All things are defined by their function for [in those cases where] things are able to perform their function, each thing truly is [*F*], e.g. an eye when it can see. But when something cannot [perform that function] it is homonymously [*F*], like a dead eye or one made of stone, just as a wooden saw is no more a saw than one in a picture. The same, then, [holds true] of flesh…Meteorologica 390a10-15. (Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 28)

Under this definition, unensouled/dead bodies are not the same as ensouled/live bodies because they cannot perform the same functions that an ensouled/live body can. This presents a problem for Aristotle's hylomorphic conception of living beings because a dead, and therefore unensouled, body is unenformed and only a body in name. It seems that the same matter that made up the living and ensouled body loses its form and thus ceases to be a true "body": "To begin with, it would seem that if the body is homonymous, and if dead bodies are not really human bodies at all, human bodies, no less than human souls, go out of existence at the moment of death."[16] In order to resolve the problem of the homonymy of the body in Aristotle, Shields gives an account of the relationship between organic and non-organic bodies.

16. Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 2–3.

In his attempt to solve the Problem of Homonymy between a living body and a dead body, Christopher Shields turns to Aristotle's idea of the connection between organic and non-organic bodies. Organic matter is living matter; the organic body is the living human body: "[A]ccording to this definition [of organic bodies], something is an organic body only if it can perform the activities functionally determinative of a human being, and has this capacity necessarily."[17] As organic matter is necessarily ensouled, only non-organic matter could be

17. Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 11.

potentially or conditionally ensouled. Shields argues that a non-organic body could potentially be an organic body at some point—presumably once it is ensouled—even though it is not necessarily alive at all times: "The class of non-organic bodies, then, do not have human capacities necessarily, but rather contingently. Hence, non-organic bodies are simply organic bodies without this modal property."[18] This would mean that there could be some substance, some matter, that persists through generation and destruction—it just isn't the organic, ensouled body. Organic bodies are necessarily enformed because of their mere existence as organic bodies. But a non-organic body that can become an organic body could therefore be the matter of a human body before it is ensouled and after it has died: "Corpses are a phase of the existence of non-organic bodies, but non-organic bodies exist before and survive the death of the organism."[19] According to Shields, non-organic bodies are like the bricks of the house: only the bricks—or the proximate matter—can properly be said to constitute a house. However, the clay that underlies the bricks of the house existed before the house or even the bricks that constitute the house existed and continues to exist after the house has fallen down or the bricks change shape and function: "Non-organic bodies, like the clay of which bricks are compounded, constitute organic bodies, which in turn serve as the proximate matter of individual souls."[20] The bricks—like the organs and body parts of a human—are the proximate matter of the house, while the matter that constitutes the bricks is the non-proximate matter. This is how Shields explains the nature of non-organic bodies: non-organic bodies are compounded and constitute organic bodies when enformed, and organic bodies serve as the proximate matter of individual compound beings. It is possible, Shields argues, for a non-organic body to exist at the same time and in the same space as an organic body: "As entities which exactly overlap spatio-temporally so long as the organic body exists, organic and non-organic bodies will have all their non-modal, non-intentional properties in common. And this is sufficient for constitution."[21] An organic body is simply an ensouled non-organic body. Shields further explains the relationship between organic bodies and non-organic bodies with an analogy of an ax. The iron that is the matter that takes on the form of the ax is thus "ax-matter," and

18. Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 11.

19. Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 28.

20. Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 29.

21. Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 29.

it existed before it was shaped or enformed to be an ax. The matter is only "ax-matter" in that the enformed compound can carry out the functions of an ax, the function of chopping. When this iron, "ax-matter," ceases to be able to chop, it ceases to be an ax, even if it resembles an ax in every other way. The same is true of the human body:

> An "ax" which cannot chop, Aristotle maintains, is a spuriously homonymous ax (DA 412bl3-15). This seems to entail that only matter in a certain condition counts as an ax. Matter which falls out of this condition is no longer the material of an ax, but of something which has a superficial resemblance to an ax. Axes, like human beings, are functionally defined: all and only those things which can chop count as axes. Something will count as the matter for an ax, then, only when it is the matter of something which can chop. Consequently, "ax-matter", as we might call it, necessarily has the property of constituting an ax. When it ceases to constitute an ax, it ceases to be ax matter, even though it will remain potentially a matter, that is, potentially constitutive of something which chops. (Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 22)

Just as the pre-enformed and de-enformed iron is only "ax-matter" when it can chop, the human body is only an organic body when it can fulfill the functions of a living human. Like an ax made of wood—an ax that cannot chop—a non-organic body can have the shape and same physical appearance as an organic body, as is in the case of dead bodies, manikins, and statues.[22] Therefore, the unenformed human body, like a wooden ax, is only a body homonymously, not because it lacks a certain physical form but because it lacks a certain "essence":

22. Shields, "The Homonymy of the Body," 23.

> The wooden saws introduced at Meteorologica 390a10—15, for example, may bear a superficial resemblance to real saws, even though they lack the capacities requisite for being actual saws. The problem with wooden saws is not that they have the wrong shape, but rather that in virtue of their matter they cannot perform certain functions. Their matter is incapable of realizing a certain form, functionally construed, even though it can take on the superficial shape which normally accompanies that form. (Shields, "Homonymy of the Body," 23)

This allows Aristotle to classify dead—and thus non-organic—bodies as homonymously bodies because, while they share the physical form of the body, they do not share a function. The non-organic body, then, is the proximate matter of the organic body. The non-organic body is the matter that exists before ensoulment and continues to exist after death. However, a major problem with Shields' proposed understanding of the Principle of Homonymy and the body is that he gives no explanation of *how* or *when* a non-organic body *becomes* an organic body. He argues that the organic body becomes an inorganic body after death, after its unensoulment, but he does not give any account of the opposite, how a non-organic body becomes organic. Christopher Mirus and Fred Miller, however, do explain this process in their articles "Homonymy and the Matter of a Living Body" and "Aristotle's Philosophy of Soul," respectively.

In Christopher Mirus' "Homonymy and the Matter of a Living Body," he explains that the matter of the natural body is "enformed by the soul, is necessarily alive, and thus necessarily ensouled."[23] Mirus also points out the conflict that the Principle of Homonymy creates between Aristotle's *De Anima* and the Physics. In the Physics, Aristotle introduces matter as a subject that may or may not be enformed and as such can change in both accidental and substantial ways: "In *Physics* ii, however, matter is introduced as a subject that may or may not be informed in a given way, and can thus account for the existence of change."[24] In *De Anima*, however, Aristotle argues that the body is necessarily ensouled, meaning that its matter—the human body—could only exist as an ensouled, living being. Any body that is not ensouled, such as a dead body, is thus only a body homonymously. Mirus also explains the difference between "homogeneous bodies"—what Shields calls "non-proximate matter"—and more complex, heterogeneous bodies—Shields' "proximate matter": "In short, the homogeneous bodies are the uniform, continuous substances

23. Christopher V. Mirus, "Homonymy and the Matter of the Living Body," 357.

24. Mirus, "Homonymy," 357.

of which the more complex living and non-living bodies are composed."[25] Heterogeneous parts are the proximate matter of living beings while homogeneous parts—that which make up the heterogeneous parts—are the non-proximate matter of living beings.[26] It is these homogeneous bodies that pre-exist more complex compounded bodies and continue to exist after the death or destruction of these entities. Mirus also acknowledges the functional definitional aspect of compound bodies: "In other words, the complex bodies clearly have a function that makes each thing what it really is (they exist 'for the sake of' it). For example, a corpse is not really a man, because it cannot perform the human function, and an eye is not really an eye unless it can see."[27] Homogenous parts can thus be contingently enformed whereas heterogeneous parts and bodies are necessarily enformed:

25. Mirus, 360.

26. Mirus, 369.

27. Mirus, 363.

> In the *Generation of Animals*, [Aristotle] writes that "there is no such thing as a face or flesh without soul in it; it is only homonymously that they will be called face or flesh if the life has gone out of them, just as if they had been made of stone or wood" (ii 1.734b27-27). The same conclusion appears in *On Generation and Corruption*, where we find that because the distinction between matter and form is clearer in the heterogeneous than in the homogeneous parts, "there is a greater tendency to suppose that corpse still posses flesh and bone than that it still has a hand or an arm" (i 5.321b29-32). (Mirus, "Homonymy," 365)

Mirus also notes the functional determinability of homogeneous parts of living beings and artifacts, but he argues that, because the second definition of homogeneous parts of the body is a compositional one—the first definition being a functional definition[28]—it gives no mention to the living or ensouled nature of a body, and is therefore not affected by the Principle of Homonymy:

28. Mirus, 368.

> The second definition [of homogeneous bodies], however, is compositional; it specifies the proportions in which the various elements are found in the part. Because this compositional definition makes no reference to the living body, the homogeneous parts thus defined are not subject to the homonymy principle. Being only contingently informed, they can survive the living thing's death and thus can serve as its matter in the strong sense that the *Physics* seems to require. (Mirus, "Homonymy," 366)

The destruction of any homogeneous part that is part of a living substance is "an indirect and subsequent effect of the death of that substance."[29] However, homogeneous parts can survive the death of the living substance of which they compose, and so the physical body part or organ can be said to continue to exist after total bodily death:

29. Mirus, 370.

> It should now be clear that the heterogeneous parts too, insofar as they are bodily structures composed of homogeneous bodies, can survive the death of the living body whose parts they are. For example, in an otherwise healthy animal dies of heart failure, its eyes, as actually existing organs, simultaneously cease to exist. Nevertheless, the bodily structure that was hypothetically necessary for sight may continue to exist for a time. (Mirus, "Homonymy," 371)

And it is clear, to Mirus, that Aristotle considers these homogeneous parts of the body materially as well as formally: "In *Parts of Animals* ii 1, Aristotle considers the relationship between the homogeneous and the heterogeneous parts of a living body. He clearly has in mind the homogeneous parts considered materially, for he describes them as matter not only for heterogeneous but also homogeneous living parts."[30] If described materially, the homogeneous parts of a living body are not necessarily ensouled and can be spoken of as persisting through death or "putrefaction."[31]

30. Mirus, 369.

31. Mirus, 370.

The stronger and more interesting solution Mirus offers for the Problem of the Homonymy of man—the solution he shares with Miller—is that bodies receive their forms—their souls—from the semen provided by the male participant in sexual reproduction. This solution fixes Shields' problem of not providing an explanation of *how* and *when* a non-organic body becomes an organic body. Mirus cites a passage from *On the Generation of*

Animals in which Aristotle claims that what makes flesh flesh and bone bone is the "movement set up by the male parent, which is in actuality what that out of which the offspring is made in potentiality."[32] In part one of Book ii of Aristotle's On the Generation of Animals, he writes:

32. Mirus, 367.

> But how is each part formed? We must answer this by starting in the first instance from the principle that, in all products of Nature or art, a thing is made by something actually existing out of that which is potentially such as the finished product. Now the semen is of such a nature, and has in it such a principle of motion, that when the motion is ceasing each of the parts comes into being, and that as a part having life or soul. For there is no such thing as face or flesh without life or soul in it; it is only equivocally that they will be called face or flesh if the life has gone out of them, just as if they had been made of stone or wood. And the homogeneous parts and the organic come into being together...what makes them is the movement set up by the male parent, who is in actuality what that out of which the offspring is made is in potentiality. (Aristotle, On the Generation of Animals, 48–9)

Mirus and Miller both explain the ensoulment of an organic body as the actuality of the male parent's semen (*gonê*) "ensouling" or making actual the matter of the female parent's contribution (*katamenia*)—roughly translated as menses or menstrual blood.[33] Semen, then, is the "proximate matter" with the potential to give actualization to a living body. This idea—that the semen is the soul/form or actualizing power in reproduction—can be found in Aristotle's biological works, such as *On the Generation of Animals*, and saves Aristotle from the problem of the homonymy of dead bodies. This "proximate matter" (semen) is able to *potentially* be a proper living, ensouled body because the semen from which the body is already enformed is what gives matter its soul, and, therefore, the actuality of an ensouled body.

33. Miller, "Aristotle's Philosophy," 323.

Fred Miller also offers this solution to the Problem of Homonymy—that a living being's form or soul comes from the semen of the male parent—in his article "Aristotle's Philosophy

of Soul." He writes: "On Aristotle's view this independent cause is a preexisting compound, such as the father in the case of an animal. The form of the offspring derives from the form of the parent. Sexual reproduction involves the replication of a form, and the growth and survival and development and perpetuation of such form in a suitable material base."[34] Miller continues to explain that, in Aristotle's *On the Generation of Animals,* the male parent in sexual reproduction is the source of the form (soul) and the principle of movement, while the female parent is the source of the matter (body):

34. Miller, 334.

> For in sexual reproduction the animal is constituted out of the matter from the mother by "the power from the male and present in the semen." The form operates via movements which are present in the semen and later in the blood of the embryo. Reproduction involves the transfer of movement from the male parent through its residue (semen) to the female residue (menses) and is perpetuated in the fetus and offspring. (Miller, "Aristotle's Philosophy of Soul, 335)

Therefore, the form—more precisely the soul—is found in the male parent's semen. This allows for life in potentiality without sacrificing the notion that a living body is necessarily ensouled. This is because, before the organism is even born, the principle through which a body is ensouled or animated is present in the semen of the male parent.[35]

35. Miller, 335.

Miller goes further in his explanation of the ensoulment through semen than Mirus does. He explains that the epigenesis interpretation of ensoulment helps Aristotle explain how a living organism can come to have a form—a soul—only because it is created by another substance or being that has such form or soul in actuality. Quoting Aristotle's *On the Generation of Animals,* Miller writes: "[T]he movement of nature exists in the product itself, issuing from another nature which has the form in actuality."[36] Furthermore, the movement of reproduction is set up by the male parent, "who is in actualization what that out of which the offspring is in potentiality."[37] Again, this potentiality found in the semen of the male parent in sexual reproduction allows for potentially ensouled matter that can

36. Miller, 336.

37. Miller, 336.

become an actual living body through the process of reproduction: "The epigenesis interpretation helps to explain why Aristotle insists that a living organism can come to be with a soul only if it is brought into existence by another substance which has this soul in actuality."[38] And because the form or soul of the progeny is determined by the form of the father, Miller swiftly side-steps the problem of necessary ensoulment of living bodies. Animals—including humans—get their form, their soul, from the semen of the male parent in sexual reproduction.

38. Miller, 336.

Aristotle's Principle of Homonymy—especially as it is laid out in his *De Anima*—presents a problem when talking about living bodies and hylomorphism. Living things are hylomorphic—composed of both matter and form. Because of this combination and the Principle of Homonymy, any thing properly called a "body" must be comprised of both matter and form—form coming from the soul. However, according to Aristotle's arguments involving the Principle of Homonymy, a body without a soul (form)—such as a dead body—is not really a "body" at all, but only a body by name, only a body homonymously. This means that all living beings are necessarily ensouled. This creates a contradiction for Aristotle between the hylomorphism of living beings and the homonymy of dead "bodies." If what persists after death—after the unensoulment of the body—is not the same as the body that was alive, Aristotle cannot argue that living bodies are true hylomorphic compounds: "If human bodies are not bodies when they are not ensouled, and if the souls of bodies are, as Aristotle claims, their forms, then human bodies are not amenable to a hylomorphic treatment. The application of a general hylomorphic framework to the case of the soul and body does not even seem possible."[39] Hylomorphism entails the combination of a pre-existing form with pre-existing matter, and this mandates that beings are contingently enformed. But if dead bodies are only homonymously bodies—lacking the ability to function as a "real" body—then bodies are necessarily ensouled and necessarily alive. This is the problem caused by the Principle of Homonymy.

39. Shields, "Aristotle's Psychology."

Together, Christopher Shields, Christopher Mirus, and Fred Miller offer several possible solutions to the problems created

by the Principle of Homonymy for Aristotle's hylomorphic account of man. Shields takes a functionalist approach to explaining how souls are the form—and therefore the function—of the living being. While the soul is the form of an organic body, Shields suggests that non-organic bodies can become organic bodies if and when they are ensouled, returning to non-organic bodies after they die or somehow are no longer connected to their souls. This account is ultimately lacking, however, because Shields does not explain how a non-organic body could become an organic body. The solution proposed by Mirus and Miller, however, makes sense and is founded in Aristotle's biological works. In *On the Generation of Animals*, Aristotle claims that it is the male's semen that turns the potential female menses—or, rather, egg—into an actuality: "The male contributes a source of movement or *dunamis* (power), which, as the argument unfolds, turns out to be a special sort of capacity to heat present in the semen's *pneuma* or air, which is part of its nature."[40] The male semen is like a tool, in that it is "an instrument possessing active motion, just as the tools are moved in things that come to be by craft."[41] It is the semen, therefore, that carries with it the motion of actuality and, as such, the form or soul of the individual. This is how unensouled organic matter comes to have a soul, and how the human body becomes a human body in actuality, not just in name, solving the problem created by the Principle of Homonymy.

40. James Lennox, "Aristotle's Biology.".

41. Lennox, "Aristotle's Biology."

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REFRAMING ROME ❧ IMPERIAL NARRATIVE AND THE TEMPLE OF AUGUSTAN CONCORD

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"Everything needs to change, so everything can stay the same": a phrase from Giuseppe di Lampedusa's novel *The Leopard* that documents the social transformation of Sicily during the 19th-century Italian Unification. Alessandro Roncalgia was among the first to recognize that this phrase also speaks to a period much earlier in the Italian Peninsula's history: Augustan Rome.[1] Briefly stated, the Roman Senate awarded Octavian (esteemed statesman and adopted son of Julius Caesar) with the title *Augustus* and the honorific position of *princeps* in 27 BCE following his victory over political rivals Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII. Augustus' assumption of power effectively ended the turmoil of the Late Republic and began Rome's shift to an autocratic empire. The transitional period of fantastic naval battles, ghastly assassinations, and star-crossed love affairs is notably referenced in Shakespeare's famous plays *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, Dante's epic poem *The Divine Comedy*, and Joseph Mankiewicz's hit-film *Cleopatra* starring Elizabeth Taylor. However, Augustus' rise to power was not as charming as legend may assert. In reality, the Augustan administration designed a calculated visual programme to earn support from the Roman public.

1. Roncaglia, "Continuity Through Change: Augustus and a Change Without a Break," 91–106.

Though the office of *princeps* is now associated with Roman emperors, the Senate did not originally intend for the position to pave the way for autocracy.[2] In fact, as the first man to hold the position of *princeps*, Augustus needed to quell concerns of dictatorship to avoid meeting the same end as his adoptive father. Augustus emphasized both his humility as a civil servant and as a champion of the Republic in his autobiography *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (*The Deeds of the Divine Augustus*), insisting that though he "took precedence of all [Romans] in rank [as *princeps*]," he possessed no more power than any other member of the Senate.[3]

2. Though the honorific office of princeps is now associated with Roman emperors, the office was not originally intended to sanction authoritarianism. In fact, the word had a healthy relationship with the Roman Republic, as the plural of princeps (principes) was often used in republican Roman literature to refer to "chief man of the state." Under the Republic, this man was often the princeps senatus—the Senate's leading member. For further discussion of this topic, see Hornblower, Spawforth and Eidinow, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

Thus, Augustus intertwined himself with the fabric of Rome more discreetly to avoid alarming the Senate or the public. If either entity felt the *princeps* no longer contributed to Rome's stability or erred too much on the side of dictatorship, they could topple Augustus and incite civil war once again. To combat this, Augustus developed an imperial narrative that reinforced his vital role in Roman politics and disseminated the narrative through the construction of monumental building projects embedded with a curated programme of familiar Roman legends and values. Repairing 82 temples in his first year alone, Augustus is famously cited in Suetonius's second-century collection of biographies *De Vita Caesarum (The Twelve Caesars)* for claiming that he "found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble."[4] Augustus likely spoke metaphorically, however, commenting more on how his actions as *princeps* converted Rome into a city worthy of international prestige rather than on the building projects themselves.

3. Augustus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 34.3: "After that time I took precedence of all in rank, but of power I possessed no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy"; I translate all Latin that appears in this paper.

4. Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, 28.3.1.

Though scholars have conducted extensive research on Augustan architecture, the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* (Temple of Augustan Concord) is largely absent from the conversation (see fig. 1). In contrast, this study recognizes the integral role the temple played in the Augustan visual programme and examines the temple's reinforcement of Augustus' authority over the Roman Empire. This study's analysis of the temple will be framed through the Roman values of concord, triumph, and continuity, all of which Augustus reframed to suit his imperial aims.

Located at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, the temple stands in almost total ruin behind the Arch of Septimius Severus and in front of the Tabularium on the northwest side of the Roman Forum (see fig. 2).[5] Archaeologists began excavation in 1812, discovering the *cella* (inner chamber) and a few remnants of sculpture at the site. The threshold of the inner chamber is still intact and consists of two massive slabs of pink-gray Chian marble. Archeologists moved the temple's extant artifacts to

5. Claridge and Toms, "Temple of Concordia Augusta," 77.

the Tabularium in the 19th century and conserved the architectural ruins in the Roman Forum.[6]

6. Gorski and Packer, *The Roman Forum: A Reconstruction and Archeological Guide*, 171.

Figure 1
Artist's recreation of the Temple of Augustan Concord as it stood in the first century CE, Lasha Tskhondia

Figure 2
Extant ruins of the Temple of Augustan Concord as they stand today, Cassius Ahenobarbus

A Roman *sestertius*, now housed in the British Museum, helps to round out the information missing from the temple's minimal remains. Minted between 34-35 CE by Augustus' adopted son and successor Tiberius, this *sestertius* provides the most accurate depiction of the temple's exterior uncovered thus far. Augustus often included well-known symbols of his rule on coins to evoke a sense of Roman pride in the public. Tiberius likely mirrored his stepfather, selecting the Temple of Augustan Concord as a circulatable emblem of the *Pax Romana* (Roman peace)—a period that began under Augustus.[7] The reverse of the Tiberian *sestertius* includes an illustration of the temple's facade, identifiable by the cult statue of Concordia (the goddess of peace) positioned in the center (see fig. 3). On the obverse is the Latin inscription that translates to "'Tiberius Caesar, son of divine Augustus, emperor [Augustus], high priest, holder of tribunician power for the 36th time'" (see fig. 3).[8]

7. Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus," 71.

8. Numista, "Sestertius: Ti Caesar Divi Avg F Avgvst P M TR Pot XXXVI; Victoria"; Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage*, 70.

Figure 3
The reverse and obverse of the Tiberian sestertii coins displaying the Temple of Augustan Concord, first century CE, The Trustees of the British Museum

However, Augustus is not the only leader to recognize the value of building a unifying narrative. Even today, nations' social institutions determine which cultural aspects distinguish their society from others to produce a shared identity.[9] Modern scholars refer to this idea as collective memory, but the concept dates back to nearly a century before Augustus' reign. An anonymous author writing in the late 80s BCE discussed the

9. Orlin, "Augustan Reconstruction and Roman Memory," 138.

construction of collective memory in his book on persuasive rhetoric *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (*Rhetoric for Herennius*). The book was published during the turbulence of the Late Republic, claiming memory could be used as a political tool for unification.

The text states that though humans rarely remember the mundane, they do remember the "exceptionally base, dishonorable, extraordinary, great, unbelievable, or laughable" stories from history.[10] This analysis of memory suggested that Roman leaders should capitalize on the "striking" moments from their history to remind the Romans of their shared past.[11] The Roman public was largely illiterate, leading the Roman elite to heavily rely on a visual language of recognizable symbols associated with certain ideas to convey information.[12] The curation of these familiar symbols in the art and architecture of Rome proved to be one of the most effective manners for the wide dissemination of information and for gaining influence, as the public viewed the symbols every day, ingraining the associated messages into their minds.[13]

10. [Cicero?], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 22.3.

11. [Cicero?], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 21.5: "Now, since in normal cases some images are strong and sharp and suitable for awakening recollection…we may know which images to avoid and which to seek"; [Cicero?], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 22.8: "Let art, then, imitate nature, find what she desires, and follow as she directs"; [Cicero?], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 22.10: "We ought, then, to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in the memory. And we shall do so if we establish likenesses as striking as possible…".

12. Vasaly, *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*, 99.

13. Galaty, "Introduction: Collective Memory Defined," 3; Orlin, "Augustan Reconstruction," 118-119; Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, 86; Galinsky, "Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory," 2.

Temples specifically played an important role in Roman politics. The Romans did not separate religion from government, leading them to make political decisions in religious spaces in hopes of receiving divine guidance.[14] For example, republican generals often visited temples to strike deals with the gods before engaging in military campaigns and built temples to show their gratitude for victory.[15] Temples were also among the largest buildings in Rome, allowing them to function as comfortable

14. Inge Nielsen, "Creating Imperial Architecture," 45.

meeting spaces for the Senate.[16] Therefore, the Romans were not strangers to the politicization of their religious spaces and were likely unfazed by Augustus' use of the Temple of Augustan Concord in his imperial narrative.

In fact, the Temple of Augustan Concord possessed a lengthy history of politicization by the Augustan age. Roman statesman Marcus Furius Camillus first erected the temple in 367 BCE. Then simply referred to as the *Aedes Concordiae* (Temple of Concord), the temple celebrated the expanded rights of the plebeians and emphasized the Senate's dedication to quelling civil disputes.[17] In *Vitae Parallelae* (*Parallel Lives*), Plutarch recorded a conflict between the Senate and the plebeians in the fourth century BCE that nearly escalated into a riot in the Roman Forum. Plutarch stated that Camillus quickly gathered the senators to develop a bloodless resolution, but first stopped to pray to the gods and vowed to build a temple to celebrate peace if the gods pacified the plebeians' discontent.[18] When the Senate announced the Licinian-Sextian Laws following the meeting, the plebeians immediately approved and harmony was restored in Rome. As promised, Camillus built the Temple of Concord to honor the newfound peace.[19]

Two centuries after Camillus' construction, Roman politician Lucius Opimius refurbished the temple in another attempt to restore harmony. Once again, Plutarch recorded a massive uprising in 121 BCE when Opimius executed Gaius Gracchus and his supporters in hopes of dispelling political opposition. Opimius then rebuilt Camillus' Temple of Concord to remind the public of the importance of overcoming civil strife and of Roman unity.[20] However, in reality, the renewed struggle between the patricians and the plebeians only reminded the Romans of the Senate's inadequacy and the temple fell out of favor.[21]

If Augustus wanted to assert his authority for the future, he first needed to remedy the political failures of the past. Thus, Augustus permitted Tiberius to spearhead the reconstruction of the Temple of Concord in 7 CE.[22] Regardless of the apathy Romans felt toward the temple at the start of Augustus' reign,

15. Hekster and Rich, "Octavian and the Thunderbolt: The Temple of Apollo Palatinus and Roman Traditions of Temple Building," 152.

16. Russell, "The Definition of Political Space in the Forum Romanum," 57.

17. Orlin, "Augustan Reconstruction," 122.

18. Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, 42.3.

19. Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.641–644.

20. Appian, *The Civil Wars*, 1.3.26.

21. Orlin, "Augustan Reconstruction," 122.

22. Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 55.8.2;

56.25.1.

the Temple of Concord served as an important piece of Roman history that could not be ignored. Yet, Augustus could also not simply erase the unfavorable memories and assign new meaning to the temple without any historical support. Tradition held the highest authority in ancient Rome and therefore Augustus needed to adhere to the temple's original association with peace to not raise concern about the intentions of his building projects.[23]

23. Lobur, *Consensus, Concordia and the Formation of Roman Imperial Ideology*, 95.

Instead, Augustus reframed the temple's existing history to better fit his imperial narrative. When renovations concluded in 10 CE, the Augustan administration took their first step toward reframing the temple by renaming it the Temple of Augustan Concord, connecting Augustus to Rome's most prevalent symbol of peace. After the renaming of the temple, the public could no longer separate Augustus from the civil harmony the temple historically represented. The temple's new name also overrode the memories of the republican temple, as they no longer contributed to the story Augustus sought to tell.[24]

24. Orlin, "Augustan Reconstruction," 123.

The Augustan administration also adjusted the temple's dedication day from Camillus' July 22nd to January 16th in order to further connect the temple to Augustus. The dedication day of a Roman monument spurred massive celebration, typically including a public procession through the streets, a commemoration of the story or value the monument represented, and a jubilee for the monument's founder. January 16th, 27 BCE was the day Octavian received the title of *Augustus* from the Senate, leading the temple's new dedication day to encourage the Roman public to celebrate Augustus each year, as opposed to celebrating the less effective leaders of the temple's past (at least according to the imperial narrative).[25]

25. Orlin, "Augustan Reconstruction," 123–124.

In addition to changing the temple's name and dedication day, the Augustan administration reconfigured the temple's exterior. A.M. Ferroni uncovered evidence that Camillus originally built the temple in the rectangular Etruscan style typically utilized in early Roman architecture, measuring 135 feet x 98 feet.[26] However, the Augustan version of the temple appeared strikingly different. Tiberius redesigned the temple to

26. Gorski and Packer, *The Roman Forum*, 172.

be roughly 148 feet x 75 feet and crossed the *portico* and the inner chamber instead of maintaining the original rectangular shape. Tiberius also moved the temple's facade to the longest side of the building to allow for a greater tower of steps leading to the entrance and a narrower porch at the top.[27] The dramatic reconstruction offered a clean slate for the temple to serve as an imperial mouthpiece without its negative associations from the Republic.[28]

27. Claridge and Toms, "Temple of Concordia Augusta," 77.

28. Orlin, "Augustan Reconstruction," 123.

Augustus' imperial narrative deliberately emphasized his adherence to the authentic culture of Rome through the preservation of traditional values and monuments. Though Augustus' total control of Rome was unprecedented and he overrode a number of republican associations with imperial messaging, Augustus did so as a staunch republican with the intention of restoring Rome to its former glory. Therefore, Augustus presented imperial Rome as an unadulterated extension of the Roman past because, to him, there was no differentiation. Both in design and messaging, the Temple of Augustan Concord reframed three traditional Roman values: concord, triumph, and continuity. This paper briefly discusses the origins of the three values and analyzes the Augustan administration's appropriation of each value through an examination of the temple's art and architecture.

Concord

The Romans viewed concord as an integral piece of Roman morality. A concept adopted from the Greeks, the Romans regarded greed as the source of all conflict, believing conflict only occurred when an individual or a group took more than their fair share of power, land, or resources from other individuals. Therefore, the Romans regarded disharmony as immoral and deemed harmony to be the result of simplicity and thrift. When each Roman lived a modest life, society remained peaceful because each citizen had the necessary resources to flourish. When each citizen flourished, Rome united and was able to thrive militarily and technologically. However, when some Romans demanded more power and resources than other Romans, balance faltered and Rome fell into unproductive chaos.[29]

29. Lobur, *Consensus, Concordia and the Formation of Roman Imperial Ideology*, 40–41.

Due to the moral gravity of concord, the civil strife of the Late Republic proved particularly traumatic for the Romans. They viewed the turmoil as evidence of Rome's rising greed and, in particular, the immorality caused by politicians straying from traditional Roman values. The Roman historian Sallust observed the need for concord in 41 BCE in his historical monograph *Bellum Jugurthinum (The Jugurthine War)*. Written shortly after Julius Caesar's civil war and death, the book served as a critique of the moral decline of Roman politics in the first century BCE. Sallust's most notable remark from the text displayed the Romans' belief that political depravity could destroy Rome, reading: "small states grow through concord, but discord undermines the greatest."[30]

30. Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, 10.5.

The temple's exterior statuary exploited the panic the Romans felt during the Late Republic and convinced them that Augustus alone was responsible for the restoration of peace. As confirmed by the Tiberian *sestertius*, three goddess statues stood at the apex of the pediment linking arms. Scholars believe the central figure to be Concordia with either Pax and Salus (the goddesses of peace and salvation) or Securitas and Fortuna (the goddesses of security and fortune) to her right and left.[31] Regardless of the accompanying figures, Augustus placed Concordia in the most visible and commanding position on the temple, reiterating the importance of the concord she represented. Two smaller statues of soldiers stood on either side of the three goddesses, likely depicting Tiberius and his brother Drusus. The placement of Augustus' stepsons beside the goddesses not only displayed the gods' approval of the imperial family, but also directly linked them to the harmony the three goddesses symbolized.

31. Claridge and Toms, "Temple of Concordia Augusta," 77; The British Museum, "Coin."

The *sestertius* also indicates that statues of Mercury and Hercules stood at the top of the temple's staircase. Mercury gripped his signature caduceus staff in his right hand—a well-known symbol of peace in the Mediterranean. Hercules is among the most widely-known heroes from antiquity, famous for his good deeds, fortitude, and courage that consistently reinstated peace across the region.[32] Hercules' presence at the temple encouraged Romans to recall Augustus' similar attributes and goals for the Empire.[33] The caduceus symbol was

32. Reber and Marceau, "The Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum," 73.

also inlaid in bronze on the steps leading into the temple, once again reiterating the importance of peace in Augustan Rome.[34]

33. Claridge and Toms, "Temple of Concordia Augusta," 77.

Additionally, the Augustan administration curated the art inside the temple to express messages relating to Augustan concord. Archaeologists uncovered the bases of three statues on the temple's rear wall, likely serving as the location for a fantastic tribute to Concordia. The statue of Concordia would have rested on the central base projecting from the wall, with the two narrower bases on either side supporting smaller statues of Augustus and his wife Livia.[35] The statues of Concordia, Augustus, and Livia likely carried an analogous sentiment to the statues of Concordia, Tiberius, and Drusus on the exterior of the temple. Concordia's larger size signified that she was the strongest force in the Empire, while the inclusion of Augustus and Livia asserted that Augustus and the imperial family worked alongside Concordia to uphold stability in Rome. Just as a visitor to the temple would not be able to isolate one statue from the other two when observing the display, separating concord from Augustus was intended to be equally difficult.

34. Kellum, "The City Adorned: Programmatic Display at the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*," 279.

35. Reber and Marceau, "The Temple of Concord," 75.

The interior of the temple also incorporated imagery of minor gods connected to concord. For example, Tiberius included statues of the god Asclepius and the goddess Hygeia in the inner chamber to represent healing and plenty.[36] Augustus wanted the Roman public to feel as though his rule healed them from the immorality and discord of the Late Republic and instead offered them moral absolution and an abundance of Roman pride. Further, the Augustan administration included statues of the Roman gods of the seasons and elements as one of the central displays in the temple. The eight gods together recalled the Greek tradition of *Harmonia*, which symbolized the natural balance of the universe. Augustus adapted the Greek concept using the Roman counterparts to assert that Augustan Rome established a new sense of balance in the universe—a balance as natural as Greek *Harmonia*.[37]

36. Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.19.80.

37. Kellum, "The City Adorned," 279.

Triumph

Rome functioned as a warrior society, leading the value of triumph to serve as a crucial aspect of Roman culture. Especially as Rome began expanding across the Mediterranean, the Romans interpreted their knack for imperialism to be a quality that differentiated them from other civilizations.[38] To further emphasize Rome's unique ability to triumph, the Romans participated in triumphal processions throughout the city. Triumphal processions typically celebrated a victorious military general and often showcased the war booty pillaged from the conquered territory, as the Roman statesmen sought to "deliberately set [the Roman public] in opposition" to the civilizations they defeated. The statesmen also wanted the public to interpret their *romanitas* (Romanness) as superior to the identities of their conquered provinces.[39] The ostentatious theatrics of the processions only further encouraged the Roman public to feel confident in the distinctiveness of the Roman ability to imperialize, causing triumph to further embed itself into the Roman value system.

The Augustan administration capitalized on Augustus' figurative triumph over Rome's impending self-destruction in the Late Republican period. According to the imperial narrative, Rome only possessed the ability to continue imperializing because Augustus quelled civil unrest.[40] If Augustus had failed, corrupt senators or external civilizations could have overrun Rome, abandoning traditional Roman culture and memory. The Augustan administration wanted the Roman populace to believe that Augustus' triumph over the Republic's discord was a victory for all Romans and therefore triumph and Augustus could not be separated.

In *Naturalis Historia (Natural History)*, Pliny describes "four elephant statues [in the temple] carved out of solid obsidian" so grand that even Augustus referred to them as "something marvelous."[41] Though the Romans rarely used elephants in battle, elephants held a militaristic connotation in antiquity as a result of Alexander the Great's conquests in Asia.[42] The Greeks (namely Alexander's Ptolemaic successors) used the elephant to symbolize their conquest of foreign lands. The Romans likely inherited the symbol from the Ptolemies, as the Ptolemaic

38. Popkin, *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph: Monuments, Memory and Identity*, 21–22.

39. Popkin, *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph*, 21.

40. Popkin, *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph*, 22.

41. Pliny, *Natural History*, 36.67.2–4.

42. Van Oppen de Ruiter, "Monsters of Military Might: Elephants in Hellenistic History and Art," 29.

dynasty ruled Egypt from the fourth century BCE until Cleopatra's death in 30 BCE.[43]

Thus, the Augustan administration likely intended for the elephant statues in the Temple of Augustan Concord to recall memories of legendary Roman victories in foreign lands. Much like how elephants were unfamiliar to the Italian Peninsula, the customs and looted objects of Rome's imperial provinces were unfamiliar to the Romans. The Romans channeled their bewilderment into the desire to spread their (assumed) superior Roman ideals and culture to external civilizations.[44]

A number of Augustan objects included imagery of elephants as a symbol of Roman triumph over foreign foes. The most notable example is the *Coupe à l'Afrique*, a silver dish uncovered in a cistern of tableware at the Villa della Pisanella in Boscoreale, Italy. The eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE preserved the collection of over one hundred silver artifacts, nicknamed the Boscoreale Treasure, which is currently housed in the Louvre[45]. The cup dates to the Augustan period and depicts Cleopatra and Antony's oldest daughter Cleopatra Selene wearing an "*exuvia elephantis* (the spoils of an elephant)" while imprisoned in Rome. The patricians living at the Villa della Pisanella likely sought to accentuate Cleopatra Selene's exoticness as an Egyptian to exaggerate Augustus' victory over external opposition (Cleopatra) and traitorous Romans that colluded with foreigners (Antony) when designing the dish.[46] The elephants in the Temple of Augustan Concord sought to convey the same message.

The inner chamber of the temple also showcased an impressive collection of Greek art. Ornately decorated, the inner chamber emphasized the "far-reaching military success" that allowed Rome to gather the best artists in the known world to decorate the temple. Archaeologists uncovered evidence of famous Hellenistic statues, such as a statue of Hestia (the Greek goddess of hearth) that Tiberius allegedly looted during his conquest of Paros, Greece. Additionally, the temple displayed five Hellenistic bronze sculptures and opulent panel paintings from famous Greek artists Zeuxis, Nikias, and Theodoros.

43. Martiz, "From Roman Africa to Roman America," 462.

44. Martiz, "From Roman Africa to Roman America," 461.

45. Draycott, "Dynastic Politics, Defeat, Decadence and Dining: Cleopatra Selene on the So-Called 'Africa' Dish from the Villa Della Pisanella at Boscoreale," 50.

46. Van Oppen de Ruiter, "Monsters of Military Might," 11.

Though the Romans revered Greek culture, the Augustan administration intended for the art collection to reiterate Rome's ability to triumph over even the most impressive of civilizations.[47]

47. Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 55.9.6; Gorski and Packer, *The Roman Forum*, 168; Aicher, "The Roman Forum," 95; Claridge and Toms, "Temple of Concordia Augusta," 77-78.

Continuity

Finally, the Augustan administration used the temple's reconstruction to highlight Augustus' dedication to preserving the Roman past. Preserving Roman history and tradition held the utmost importance in Roman society. The Romans viewed their culture as the foundation for civilization because of its connection to the Greeks. The Greeks focused on the exploration of logic, reason, and science instead of the superstition that had been common in the ancient world. Their pursuit of rational knowledge developed into Western history's first introduction to humanism, inspiring the Greeks to write thrilling tales of imperfect heroes, encourage public participation in politics, and represent the human body accurately in art. To the Romans, no other culture possessed the same sophistication as the Greeks. Thus, Rome felt an obligation to continue the unique refinement of ancient Greece through Roman culture. [48]

48. Davies, Rome, *Global Dreams and International Origins of an Empire*, 31.

Augustus intentionally framed the Empire as a continuation of the Republic, as the Romans valued their history too much for Augustus to demonize the republican past. Instead, in *Res Gestae*, Augustus spoke of "restoring liberty to the Republic…and [to the] many traditions of [republican] ancestors."[49] Augustus' use of the word "restore" indicates that Augustus did not seek to replace the past, but rather to build upon it, encouraging the public to embrace the Empire under the assumption that supporting Augustan Rome was supporting the preservation of Roman memory. According to the imperial narrative, Augustus could have torn down the original Temple of Concord and built an entirely new structure, but he instead chose to restore it because the temple held immense significance in Roman history.[50] Demolishing the temple would have fully erased it from Roman memory, creating a problematic divide between the past and the present.

49. Augustus, *Res Gestae* 1.2; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 6.1.

50. Orlin, "Augustan Reconstruction," 124.

To prove this point, the Augustan administration included statues of the Greek god Apollo in the temple in order to intertwine Augustus with Rome's mythological past.[51] The Romans possessed a special affinity for Greek mythology, even incorporating Greek characters into Roman legend. Apollo was among the selected Greek gods, serving as the deity of the sun, music, dance, healing, and truth. As one of Rome's favorite gods, the Republic celebrated Apollo through the infamous cult of Apollo, the *Ludi Apollinares* (Apollonian Games), and extravagant temples.[52]

51. Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.19.128–129

52. Zanker, "Townscape and Ideology in the Age of Augustus," in Pompeii: *Public and Private Life*, 80.

53. Roman legend holds that the cult of Apollo that existed near Actium allowed Apollo to help lead Augustus to victory at the Battle of Actium. For further discussion of this topic, see Hoff, "Augustus, Apollo and Athens," 228.

Augustus capitalized on his fabled relationship with Apollo to position himself in direct opposition to Antony.[53] As Antony continued to revel in Egypt, the Romans likened him to the Greek god Dionysus. The Romans associated Dionysus with the East, claiming an Asian woman mothered him before he traveled to the Mediterranean. Antony upheld the association, spending the majority of his days indulging in Egyptian pleasures with Cleopatra.[54] Augustus, on the other hand, presented himself as a 'Western man' only interested in Roman culture, in hopes of gaining support from the Roman public.[55] The Romans had adopted the Greeks' view of Apollo and Dionysus as antitheses and contrasted Augustus and Antony using similar paradoxes, such as Western versus Eastern or Roman continuity versus foreign chaos. Augustus further solidified his connection to Apollo in 28 BCE when he dedicated the *Aedes Apollo Palatinus* (Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill) and even linked the terrace of the temple to his private residence.[56]

54. Hoff, "Augustus, Apollo and Athens," 228; Miller, Apollo, Augustus and the Poets, 26.

55. Hoff *ad loc.*

56. Zanker, "Townscape and Ideology in the Age of Augustus," 80; Coarelli, Rome and Environs: An Archeological Guide, 142.

The Augustan administration's use of Apollonian art in the Temple of Augustan Concord framed Augustus as a leader who fiercely appreciated Roman tradition. As previously mentioned, Augustus wanted the Roman public to feel as though there was no divide between republican and imperial Rome. Therefore, Augustus related himself to Apollo to emphasize that he was not easily lost in Eastern viewpoints or a lifestyle that

contradicted the virtues of Greco-Roman heroes, unlike Antony.

In addition to preserving the past, the Romans also felt obligated to ensure the future of Roman civilization. Through the temple's imagery alluding to dynastic succession, Augustus and the imperial family established a sense of eternal continuity. Augustus wanted the Roman public to believe that as long as his line held power, Rome would peacefully endure.[57] As referenced when discussing the value of concord, statues of Tiberius and Drusus stood beside the three goddess statues at the apex of the pediment.[58] The statues of Augustus' stepsons not only linked the imperial family to concord, but also confirmed Tiberius and Drusus as Augustus' heirs. Just as the Temple of Augustan Concord symbolized Augustus' dedication to the continuity of Rome, Tiberius and Drusus' presence on the temple connected them to the same value.

57. Gowing, *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*, 145.

58. Claridge and Toms, "Temple of Concordia Augusta," 77.

Every civilization requires a unifying narrative to survive. A leader's motive for curating the narrative is seldom ill-intentioned, but rather is a fundamental aspect of building a cohesive and functioning society. Rome's transition from a republic to an autocratic empire demanded Augustus to construct an imperial narrative that substantiated the massive political shift. As in many societies, the Romans looked to their coins, architecture, and statuary to interpret which legends and values held the most importance in Roman culture. The imperial narrative did not seek to stand alone from the history of the Roman Republic and certainly did not intend to cause a cultural divide between Rome's past and present. Instead, Augustus' imperial narrative utilized integral elements of republican Rome and reframed them to fit with a story that supported Augustus and the continuation of the Roman Empire. Today, societies rally behind their civilizations' unique story using similar tactics, such as public education, flags, national anthems, and monuments. Without a shared historical interpretation and an agreed-upon set of ideals, there would be no basis for societal unity.

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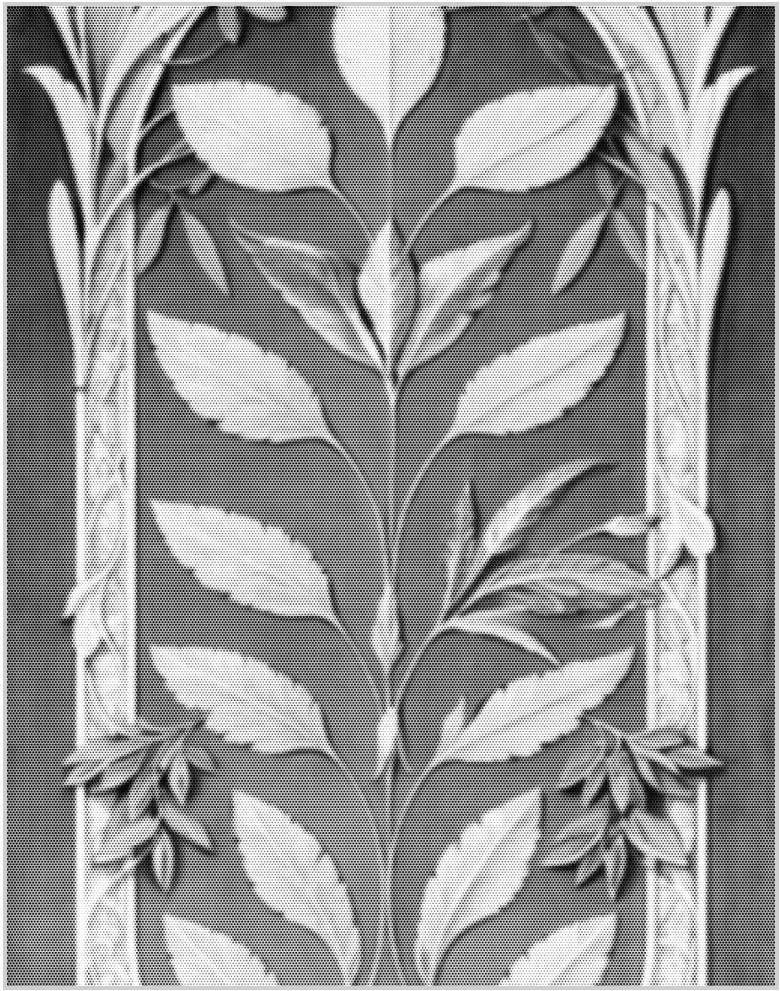

THE EPITAPH FOR BASSA LABERIUS
KATE WHITAKER, TRANSLATOR
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NOTE FROM THE TRANSLATOR

Perhaps one would not expect to find such profound philosophical observations in a simple marital epitaph, but Laberius' touching tribute to his wife challenges those expectations. Writing in Rome in the late third century, the poet interweaves in his description of his wife the transcendent spiritual love they share with physicality, elevating both. He compares their resting place–*cepotaphium*, a garden tomb–to their bodies in an eternal embrace. This perpetual recognition and love, implying an active immortal life, is fascinating because of its break from traditional conceptions of death. Before the Christianization of Rome, philosophies like Epicureanism and Stoicism held prominence, the latter agnostic about an afterlife and the former eschewing it entirely. Even older influences, like Homer and Plato, say nothing of recognition or relationships beyond the grave. Plato concerns himself only with the matter of philosophizing, while Homer reduces the shades to semi-corporeal zombies. Here, however, we can still see the influence of Platonic thought on Laberius through his last sentence, where he makes an almost Phaedo-esque declaration about the cyclical nature of life and death and the immortality of the soul. The poet reaches back in time, a young man of ancient customs, to hold his wife forever.

Kate Whitaker

Bassa, the wife of the poet Laberius, rests here, in the deep bosom
Of her fruitful mother Earth, a young wife of ancient customs.
Her blessed spirit is with her husband, her soul is returned to heaven.

Arrange a room; let our marriage vows unite our loving bodies
v Together again, but this time, forever.

You are awash in honeysuckle and cinnamon, fragrant myrrh and cardamom.
From there, I pray that a new plant or flower may rise,
With which I, stricken with grief, may crown the altar and my poetry and myself.

The vine, painted with purple clusters of grapes,
x Embraced four elm trees with its sweet boughs.
Let the scenic garlands weave a twin shadow here,
The lofty tree and the bonds of its tender lover.

Here is the body of the poet Laberius, for his spirit returned there
From where it rose. Seek the source of the soul.
xv What I was, I am no longer, but I will be again what I am not now.
Rising and setting, life and death are the same.

Bassa, vatis quae Laberi coniuga, hoc alto sinu
frugae matris quiescit, moribus priscis nurus.
animus sanctus cum maritost, anima caelo reddita est.

Parato hospitium; cara iungant corpora
haec rursum nostrae, sed perpetuae, nuptiae.

In spica et casia es, benedora stacta et amomo.
inde oro gramenve novum vel flos oriatur,
unde coronem amens aram carmenque meum et me.

purpureo varum vitis depicta racemo
quattuor amplesast ulmos de palmite dulci.
scaenales frondes detexant hinc geminam umbram
arboream procaeram et mollis vincla maritae.

Hic corpus vatis Laberi, nam spiritus ivit
illuc unde ortus. quaerite fontem animae.
Quod fueram non sum, sed rursum ero quod modo non sum.
ortus et occasus vitaque morsque itidest.